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THE
VNGIRDING
OF THE
Scottish Armour:

OR,
AN ANSWER TO THE
Informations for Defensive Armes against
the Kings Majestie, which were drawn up at *Edenburgh*,
by the common help and industrie of the three Tables of the
rigid Covenanters of the Nobility, Barons, Ministry, and
Burgesses, and ordained to be read out of Pulpit by each
Minister, and pressed upon the people, to draw them to
take up armes, to resist the *Long Arm*,
throughout the whole Kingdome
of SCOTLAND.

By *John Corbet*, Minister of *Bonyl*, one of the Collegiate
Churches of the Provostrie of *Dunbarton*.

PROV. 24. 21. My Son feare God, and the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change. For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?
MAT. 26. 52. Put up thy sword into his place, for he that taketh the sword, shall perish with the sword.



DUBLIN,

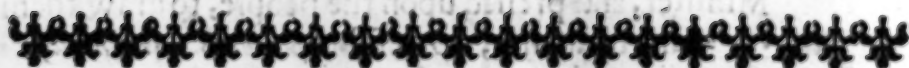
Printed by the Society of Stationers, 1639.



Perlegi hunc librum, cui Titulus est, [The ungirding of the Scottish Armour] in quo nihil reperio quo minus cum utilitate publica imprimatur.

ED. PARRY, Reverendissimi in
Christo Patris Archiepiscopi
Dublin. Sacellanus.

Maii sexto, 1639.





TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE,
THOMAS,

Lord Viscount VVENTVVORTH,
Baron of Wentworth Woodhouse, Lord
Newmarsh and Oversley, Lord President of
the Councell established in the North part of
England, Lord Lieutenant of *York-shire*,
One of His Majesties most Honourable
Privie Councell in *England*,
and Lord Deputie Generall
of *Ireland*.

Right Honourable,



Since the Flood of our Scottish Disorders and Vproaires have overflowed the banks of divine and humane Authority, I have beene with Jeremie, Ier. 9. 1. crying out in the bitterness of my soule, O that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountaine of teares, that I might weepe day and night, for the miseries of my Countrey people: Whereof a fiery-zealous Faction, have from day to day waxed so insolent; that of equity they may challenge as their owne, that description

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Ier. 9. 2.

Prov. 16. 15.

Prov. 19. 12.

Mich. 7. 4 3.

which Jeremie affords in the next words, vers. 2. They proceed from evill to evill, and are an assembly of treacherous men. For His Majesties Clemencie hath been to them, as a cloud of the latter raine; and as the dew on the grasse, which should have produced many returns of thankfulnesse. But behold, he hath watered evill ground wh. ch bringeth forth briars and thornes the more abundantly. The best of them is as a briar; the most upright is as a thorn hedge: they do evill with both hands earnestly, hunting every man his brother with a net. They are gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Balaam, and stand in the gain-saying of Core. Amongst many passages to prove this, these their informations of warr are a most evident demonstration, which caused me continue Jeremies Elegie and sorrowfull Song: Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging of a way-faring man, that I might leave my people, and go from them. In the meane time, having purchased a copie of these informations, which with their Covenant now at last, with force and violence was to be thrust and pressed upon me, I returned this my Answer, whereof I was to make use with my Brethren at our next meeting (which was the seventh day after I had seen the copie) that they might see that as hitherto I could find no reason to Covenant with them, so now much lesse, when it ends in open Rebellion. But being advertised of the cruell plot, and snares laid for me, I was forced to flie from the virulent and violent fury of the Covenant, as from a Beare robbed of her whelps, and to seek friends to vertue among strangers: leaving my wfe great with child, melting in sorrow with foure young children, to take a prooffe of their humanity. When I came to this kingdome of Ireland, I was
so

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so ashamed that such treacherous doctrine should have been brought forth by my Countrey-men, to the great scandal of the Gospell, and deepe wounding of our protestant Religion, and rejoycing of the adversaries, that I was purposing to smother these their informations: But ere I was maturely thus resolved, I found the matter already spread abroad, and with my eyes have seene other copies. This did cut my resolution in the blade, so that I suffered these informations with my answer to them, to enjoy the light. And that for diverse reasons. I. Because some men (not knowing the Mystery of the Covenant, nor that old saying of Luther, In nomine Domini incipit omne malum) have thought it impossible, that such rebellious doctrine could be hatched by the Covenanters, and that it seemeth to be an invention of others, to make them the more odious. This I refute, by publishing the same. Secondly, that this doctrine, whereunto I, one of the least of the Tribe of Levi there, have answered, may not be imputed to that Church and Nation, but to some factious spirits there, who have this houre and power of darknesse: For since the most part of them were compelled to subscribe their covenant, shall any man think that they will allow this doctrine of Rebellion? I know the contrary, and dare presume to affirme, that the best of that Kingdome for worth and number, especially of the Ministry, shall assent to that truth which I here maintaine, though now they be carried away with this inundation; and the lay-ruling-Bishops their Governours keep them under. Yea, my charity is so enlarged, that I trust, that the chiefe Contrivers of these informations shall acknowledge their error: for they have been transported with passions, whilst they were upon this worke, by their great swelling words, fully stuffed with calumnies;

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Jude 13.

Esa. 32.2.

Acts 18.19.

whereof I hope they will repent in their cold blood, when they forbear to be as the raging waves of the sea, forming out their own shame. Then the heart of the rash shall understand knowledge. So that I hope the number shall be few, as the grape-gleanings after the vintage, who defend this mad doctrine: And I, with Paul, shall have nothing to accuse my Nation of. But if any, after ripe deliberation, shall adhere to this rebellious doctrine, and when they should cry,

Nulla salus bello, pacem te petimus omnes,
shall change it into

Acts 16.29.

Pro. 26.18.

Tota salus bello, facem te petimus omnes,
I shall be so farre from contradicting those who have called them all mad men, that I shall take up Pauls wish, I would to God that they were both altogether, and almost even as Paul, his bonds not being excepted; which bonds I wish not as a punishment, but as a remedy for their brain-sick malady: having withall their Camp-sticks taken from them, as being most dangerous in the hands of mad men, especially for themselves. And as for these Cynick and Lucinian railers, rather than preachers; such as that wiseman who made sport in the Pulpit of E-denburgh, by riding Balaams asse: and that other mad-cap who wounded the beast, these are wise enough for their new calling, let them be gone to them. Let the one learn better to play the butcher with beasts, whose Physicke for man is naught: and let the other be an Asse-breaker, and if he did formerly thus preach, I am sure an Asse hath done more service to Christ than ever he hath done: an Asse caried Christ to Ierusalem, but with his Asinine prattlings he hath brought none to Christ. And therefore I would not that any should brand our Church with such spots, fruit-
lesse

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lesse trees, wandring stars, and clouds without water:
Let them beare their own shame. It cannot be denyed, but
our Church is now in a great Eclipse, and the mouth of our
common adversary is open, and they triumphing over us,
cry, Medice te ipsum cura: But, Rejoyce not against Mic. 7. 8.
me, O mine enemy, though I have fallen, I shall arise,
though I sit in darknesse, the Lord shall be a light un-
to me. I hope to see our Church flourishing and shining
in her former beauty, maintaining againe the Orthodoxe
Doctrin toward Monarchy, and putting to silence the 1 Pet. 2. 15.
ignorance of foolish men. And therefore, my third reason
in publishing this Treatise is, that all our Orthodoxe Di-
vines may have these informations, as so many Theses,
brought to their hands, who are more able to stop the mouth
of the Gain-sayers.

Now, Right Honourable seeing I am a stranger in this
Kingdome, and this my meane labour standeth in need of
one (in these evill dayes) who is powerfull both for Place,
and Learning, for its Patron: I have therefore presumed
to lay it at your Lordships feet, begging your honourable
Patronage, in whom both great Authority and Learn-
ing, Wisdome and Justice are met; whom this Church
and Nation hath found a most gracious Patron. Whom I Acts 24. 10.
know to have been of many yeeres a governour unto
this nation; and to be expert in all customes and Acts 26. 3.
questions of this nature, which concerneth the civill Ma-
gistrate; and especially the Monarchicall Government of
great King CHARLES. And therefore, though the Au-
thor and the workmanship be but mean and rude, yet the
matter which I defend, deservedly craveth such a high Pa-
tronage for its defence, as is your Lordship, who is as faith-
full David, among all the Kings servants, and honou-
rable

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1. Sam. 22. 14.
Iob. 29. 14.

rable in his house; *who hath put on Righteousnesse as a cloathing, and judgment as a robe and diademe, whom, when thy eare heareth, it bleſſeth; and when thy eye ſeeth, it giveth witneſſe, as to one ready to deliver the poore that cryeth, and the fatherleſſe, and him that hath none to help, and to break the jawes of the unrighteous, and to plucke the ſpoile out of his teeth. And this is no ſmall addition to his Maſties happineſſe, to have one who walketh in a perfect way to ſerve him, which was Davids reſolution. As Salomon ſpeaketh of the vertuous woman, The heart of her husband doth ſafely truſt in her, ſo that he ſhall have no need of ſpoile: So may I ſay of his Maſties truſt in your Lordſhip, eſpecially in theſe evil dayes, which brings to my remembrance the words of Nabal. There be many ſervants now adayes, that breake away every man from his Maſter. To put confidence in ſuch, is to truſt to a broken tooth, and to a foot out of joynt.*

Pſal. 101. 6.

Prov. 31. 11.

1. Sam. 25. 10.

May it pleaſe therefore your Lordſhip favourably to accept theſe meane labours, which for the Glory of God, Victory of truth, honour of our King, and good will toward my diſtracted Countrey-men, I have brought to light; Humbly beſeeching for the ſhelter of your L. protection, to this Treatiſe and its Author, who ſhall begin and remaine to bee

Your Lordſhips moſt

humble Servant,

JOHN CORBET.



THE VNGIRDING OF THE Scottish Armour.



HE Elephant travelleth not so long from her conception to her birth, as these chiefe covenanters have been travelling in their mutuall bond of defence against authority, under the Cloak of a Covenant with God, to bring forth this huge, and monstrous birth of informations for resisting the Lords Annoynted; who after unparalleled examples of Clemencie, is constrained by force of Armes to re-establish his Ancient Authoritie in SCOTLAND, which is now laid in the dust, and trampled under foot. At this last meeting at *Edenburgh*, of the Nobilitie, Barons, and learnedst of the rigid covenanting Ministerie, for this effect, I looked for some great matter, for some weighty, and powerfull arguments and reasons, to presse the people to Armes, but behold, *they have brought forth nought but a lie,*

as sayes the Royall Prophet *David*, *Psal.* 7.14. not so much as a shadow of any sound reason, to any reasonable man.

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

And I protest that I am now beyond all Admiracion, when I consider how so many men can be carried away with so small appearance of reason from the due subjection to the supreme Governour under God, and not bee moved when most sound reasons are brought on the contrary, but rather furiously, with the zeale of *Iehu*, persecute those who upon sound reasons withstand them in great sobriety. This is a great prejudice, and its most manifest that their affections obnubilates their reasons, as *sinoake*, that they cannot see. For our ministers of the strict and rigid sort have taken only paines in moving the affections, and not in instructing the mind with sound reasons; hereunto like the false teachers, who (as witnesseth *Tertullian*) *prius cadent quam docent*: Hence it is that in this Pamphlet of theirs, before they alledge any reasons of their resisting authority, they propound six points, for the gaining of the affections of the people, and then come to some naughtie reasons to perswade warre. I know that the times are evill, I have already suffered much thereof, so that *Amos* counsell, *chap* 5.13. might seeme seasonable, *The prudent shall keepe silence in that time, for it is an evill time, Yea, so evill a time, that hee who departs from evill, makes himselfe a prey*; as *Isaias* sayes.

Esa. 59.15.

But when I see hostile armes raised against our dread Sovereigne, the Lords Anoynted, the breath of our Nostrils; I cannot hold my peace any longer, but as the dumbe sonne of King *Crasus* suddainely spake when he saw the sword upon the King his father, crying, *O man kill not the King*. So when I see the same to be drawne against my father, my King, and Head, I cannot hold my peace, and I cry rather, O Country men, save your selves from such high rebellion. Save your soules, save your bodies and estates: be affraid to under-take that Warre which is forbidden by God, adventure not a poore soule upon such an hazzard, in resisting superior powers, which is to resist the Ordinance of God, and will you strive

strive with the Almighty? I have considered your reasons, drawne up at your tables for Armes, and I find no reason that any soule may probably lean to. Vpon the first sight of them, my duty to God, my King, and Country, suffered me not to sleepe till I had returned this short answer, which I wish might come to your hands without suppression, till time and leasure be granted more fully to answer this point. As your armes (you say) are for defence, so is my Pen; let the learned turne their Pen against mine, if they finde no satisfaction, and let the sword be against the armies of the Aliens: for my Pen here is not offensive, but defensive, let us first fight with our Pennes, and if yours be conquerours, then goe to swords. I shall keepe this Method, to set downe word by word all your instructions without missing a syllable, and then return an answer, not so much as it deserveth, but as I thinke expedient to answer.

Covenanters instructions.

The times require that the points following be pressed upon the people, both by the Preachers in publicke, and understanding and well-affected Professors in private conferences.

1. **B**Ecause our chiefe adversaries, who are enemies to the Gospell of *Christ*, to the salvation of the peoples soules and to the peace of this Church and Kingdome, have from the beginning advanced their ungodly and Antichristian course, by lies and persecution, by craft and cruelty, which have beene their most subtile and strongest arguments. And now when by excommunication they are given over to Satan who hath been a lier and murtherer from the beginning, have put away all conscience, countenance, and naturall affections to their Country, the people would bee dealt withall that their fraudulent lies and crafty devices be not beleevd, nor their force and threatned violence be feared by the people

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ple of God, remembering their Hellish Maxime:

Flattere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Anticovenant.

Though much might bee said against this most unchristian and uncharitable divellish saying, which I might justly retort, especially in perswading the people to sweare to serve the King, which service you now can stand in resisting; Yet with *Michael* the Archangell, disputing with the Devil about the body of *Moses*, I will bring no railing accusation, but I say, *The Lord rebuke thee.*

Jude 9.

Covenant.

2. That Unitie bee earnestly recommended, as that strengthens the cause, and which being fast holden with will make us invincible: and on the contrary, that Division by all meanes to bee avoyded, as that which from the beginning hath bene principally intended, and many wayes for by our enemies, and which once having place, will bring to a certaine ruine, and make us of all people the most contemptible and miserable; exposing our selves and our posteritie, to the wrath of God, for our perfidious dealing in his Covenant, to the mercilesse crueltie of our enemies, to be a hissing and reproach to all Nations about us, and to be a griefe to all godly, who have bene continually in their prayers and praises to God for us all this time.

Anticovenant.

1. You have great cause to urge unitie, for if even Satans kingdome be divided, it cannot stand. 2. Let unitie with the head be urged, and not of the members against the head; to recommend unitie, and not with the head, is in effect, to urge separation and division, to scatter in *Israel*, and divide in *Jacob*; which thing you here doe unhappily preface, make

guineas

ominatis parcite verbis. 3. No division hath beene intended, but the right union hath beene sought for, which is between the head and the rest of the body, the King and his subjects, which you now have so much withstood, seeking only union of the members without the head, which is to make one monster of many heads, as is seene amongst us this day.

*Est hydra multorum capitum; variabile vulgus,
Seditione potens.*

And certainly, there is such Antipathie in this your confederation, that you cannot be well united; you are like unto *Nebuchadnezzars* image, not all of one mettall, gold, silver, brasse, yron and clay, of which simples, none can compound a perfect body: you of the young Nobility, who will be the golden head, you of the Gentrie, who will be the brest of silver, you Burgesse, who will be the brazen thighes, you Silly Ministers, who are placed in the foot by the order of your Covenant, to be yron, mixt with the Commons, the clay; whose dwelling is of the clay, and habitation of the earth, how can you have any durable union? If you march forward, your foot of clay must faile you, and you must fall and breake your golden heads, like *Dagon* before the Arke, and nothing be left, but a stump of antipathizing mettall,

Covenanter.

3. That it be frequently remembred, how the finger and power of God by many and admirable evidences hath beene manifest in this great worke of reformation, and how the Lord either by blowing upon all the devises of our enemies; or by turning them backe upon themselves, hath turned all their wisdom into foolishnesse, that we may have confidence for time to come, b. leev-
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Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putet.*

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It's ever esteemed foolishnesse to argue of the goodnesse of any enterprize from the successe thereof. *Diagoras* the Atheist was confirmed in his opinion that there was no God, because he came with a faire gale of wind through the Sea without shipwracke.

Polycrates the Tyrant of Samos was renowned above all that ever I read in prophane History, for his prosperity and good successe in all his businesse, and when by his friends he was desired to seeke adversity in some thing, because they thought it ominous, never to taste of troubles; he threw a most precious ring into the river, the losse whereof grieved him much, but the next morning his Cook found the ring in the belly of a fish, which confirmed the Tyrant in his opinion of perpetuall prosperity, but yet in the end he was taken by *Orontes*, and hanged. Men ought not to blesse themselves in any evill way, and say in their hearts we shall never bee moved. Reade the League of France, and you shall see how they prosper'd in al their affaires. The Lacqueies of the Duke of *Guize* had more credit with the people then his Majesties principall Servants: so is it now with you, your cup is not yet full, behold the end. The Kings Clemency hath made you insolent, if hee at the beginning had shewne himselfe like a blazing Star, you had all evanished as smoak, but his Majesty being a follower of God his Master hath thought by clemencie and indulgence to gaine you, and now seeth that Iustice must succeed to clemency, to bring you to subjection; neither shall you escape by iniquity, and the further ye proceed in an evill way, the neerer is your ruine.

Covenanter.

4. That the people bee not troubled when they heare of wars, nor affraid of shadowes, nor be deceived with promises, nor moved with remonstrances were they never so specious, but they themselves denounce Warre against their owne sinnes, as their greatest enemies, and submit themselves obediently to follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished

with counsell, and courage, for the good of his Kirk, and Kingdome.

Anticovenant.

The people needeth not to bee troubled with warres, if they be loyall Subjects, for his Majesty is not a terror to good workes, but to the evill. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? doe that which is good, and thou shalt have the praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God to thee for good: but if thou doe that which is evill, bee afraid: for hee beareth not the sword in vaine: for he is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill. Rom. 13. 3.

2. It's needlesse to perswade them not to be afraid of shadowes, for shadowes flie away. But what meane you by shadowes? the Kings power? his armie? Well, it may be that these shadowes become bodie. Zebul perswaded Gaal who conspired against Abimelech, that Abimelech's army was but the shadow of the mountaines, and not men. But when Gaal saw them come downe by the middle of the land, and another company come along by the plaine in Meonenim: he found that a shadow to be feared, when Zebul said, where is now thy mouth, wherewith thou saydest, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? Is not this the people that thou hast despised? Goe out, I pray now, and fight with him. Howbeit you regard not this shadow, yet let all these in his Dominions that feare God, esteeme His Majesties power under God to be, especially in these evill times, a biding place from the wind, a covert from the tempest, a shadow of a great rocke in a wearie Land. Judg. 9. 36.

3. Whereas you desire men not to be deceived with promises, &c. You would doe well to make this cleare. Will the King promise faire, and then faile? Will you like railing Rabshakeh dissuade Israel to trust Hezekias? and say, Let not the King deceive you, hearken not unto him: God give you better mindes. I dare bee bold to promise in His Majesties name these words of the Prophet Esay. Say to the righteous, that it shall bee well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their Esa. 31. 2.

their doings. Woe unto the wicked, it shall be evill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given unto him.

4. It's well advised to urge the people to make war with sinne, God further this worke; but I pray you, urge them to denounce warre against the reigning sinne amongst you, against rebellion, and resisting of superiour Powers. Let the Leaders of Gods people lead them in the paths of righteousness; bring not strange fire to Gods Altar; warme not your pulpits with the strange doctrine of unrighteousnesse; that you may at the day of account, say, Lord, *I have done as thou hast commanded, and if wee have beene deceived, thou hast deceived us*: and be not blind leaders of the blind, till you both fall in the ditch.

Covenanter.

5. *That it be remembred, what hath been our manifold defections, in discipline, Sacraments, Worship and doctrine, through the want of lawfull Nationall assemblies, and the usurpation of the Prelats these many yeeres by past; and that a greater mercie could not be shorne to this Land, than a free and full Nationall assemblie; such as is that which was indicted by His Majestie, and holden at Glasgow, ridding this Kirke of the Prelates, the Authors, and Executioners of all our woes. That they may bee earnest with God in their Prayers, that as he hath beene pleased to set up our reformation againe with a stretched out hand, hee may bee graciously pleased to uphold his own work; and make the Kings Majesty a nursing Father to the Kirke in this Land.*

Anticovenanter.

Let these things be remembred in Gods Name. Tell them, that the defections of Discipline is great, in that the antient Apostolik Government is by a lawles Covenant abjured, and by violence removed; and another of a baser coin put in it's place. Tell them of the profanation of the Sacraments: and
of

of their superstitious opinion, who make some gellure essentiall to the Lords Supper, and others idolatrous. Let them be told too, that the Lord is wronged in his worship, by those who condemne set prayers in his Service. Tell them likewise, that the Doctrine is corrupted, especially concerning the authority of the Supreme Magistrate. But call not ye the Prelates, the authors and executioners of your woes, who are become so great enemies to them : you ought also to be afraid to father your disorders upon God, as a work of reformation, thereby speciously making him the author and fautor of all your misdemeanours.

Alter a contemptus species est, dicere falsum;

Utiq. fidem facias, divino numine abusi.

And finally, it's most odiously spoken by you, to pray that *the King His Majesty may be a nursing father to his Church*; for in your sense, you seeme to make him a stepfather, an enemy, yea, a Tyrant to the Church, as you declare your selves in the stating of the question, and answering to the 13. *Rom.* for except he be a Tyrant, you declare it's unlawfull to resist him : and if mercy, clemency, and all Royall vertues, which are in him, be Tyranny, then His Majestic is the greatest Tyrant that ever was.

Covenanter.

6 That the Ministers and Professors acquaint themselves with the acts of Assemblies, especially that against Episcopacie, with the protestation and answers to the Declaration made by the Commissioner, and the Declinator of the Assembly by the Bishops : That from these, they may be able promptly to answer the objections of the Adversaries. That the last supplication be read in publick, that the Commons may see how falsely we are traduced, and how reasonable our desire is.

Anticovenanter.

It were more fit that you should studie to prudence, and

to keepe these things close, and to desire that these things should not be told in *Gath*, not published in *Askelon*, especially, that monstrous Act concerning *Episcopacie*; lest by publishing these your follies in print, you make your selves, *Opprobrium Cæli, ludibriumq; soli*. And get your Assembly branded with that of the Councell of *Trent*. *Non fuit liberum Concilium, sed combinatio conjuratorum*.

Sibrand de Con-
cil. Excep. 8.

Covenanter.

7 The stating of the Controversie at this time betweene the King and his Subjects must be cleared to the people thus: that all men may know how unjustly we are invaded, and how just and necessary our defence shall be. The question is not, whether we ought honour to the King, for we acknowledge him to be Gods Deputie and Vicegerent: or whether we ought to obey the King, for God hath given him Power and Authority to Command: or whether we ought to give unto Cæsar, that which is Cæsar, for that we desire to doe most cheerfully: or whether we ought to feare the King, for he is set over us to doe Justice. Neither is the question, whether Honour should be given to evill Superiours, for as our Adversaries, by moving of such questions at this time under pretext of dutie, doe wrong and dishonour to the Kings gracious Majestie; so we professe in the generall, that the wickednesse of man cannot avoid Gods Ordinance: and therefore although we had froward and Wicked Superiours, yet obedience and honour is to be given unto them, as being set up by God, as it were, in his wrath, *Hos. 13. 11*. Neither is the question, whether we ought absolute obedience to an evill Magistrate, for our adversaries (whatsoever be their judgement and practice) doe not affirme that *malo in malo, or ad malum est obediendum*; but that Kings are to be obeyed so farre as their Commandements are not contrary to Gods, and if God command one thing, and they the contrary; in this case, it's better to obey God, than man. Neither is the question about the invasion of the King, or any of his Kingdomes, which is the despitefull and divellish calumnie of the disnattered enemies

enemies of this Kirk and Kingdome. But the question is meerly and simply about our owne defence. And in this also wee would put difference betweene the King resident in this Kingdome, and by opening his eares to both parties rightly informed; and the King farre from us in another Kingdome, bearing the parties, and misinformed by our adversaries: Betwene the King, as King proceeding Royally according to the lawes of the Kingdome against rebels, and the King comming downe from his Throne, at the feet whereof, the humble supplication of his subjects, yet lyeth unanswered, furiously to invade his loyall and well-meaning people. Betweene a King, who is a stranger to religion, and tyed no further but according to his owne pleasure to the professors of Religion within his Dominion; and our King professing with us the same Religion, and obliged by his fathers deed and his owne oath, to defend us his owne Subjects, our lives, religion, liberties and lawes. Again, difference would be put betwixt some private persons, taking armes for resistance; and inferiour Magistrates, Counsellors, Judges, Nobles and Peeres of the Land, Parliament-men and Barons, Burgeses, and the whole body of the Kingdome, except some few Courtiers, States-men, papists, or popishly affected. Betweene subjects rising or standing out against law and reason, that they may be free from the yoke of obedience, and a people holding fast their alleageance to their Sovereigne, and in all humilitie supplicating for Religion and Iustice. Betweene a people labouring by Armes to introduce innovations in religion, contrary to Gods Word; and a people seeking nothing so much as against all novations, to have the same Religion varified, which hath beene professed since the reformation; and hath not onely beene sworn to solemnly long since, by the Kings Majestie and the whole Kingdome, both of old, and of late; but also commanded by the Kings Majestie to be sworne by his Councillors, and all people, as it was professed at first. Betweene a people pleading for their owne fancies, follies and inventions, and a people suspending their judgement and practice about things controverted, till they should be determined in a Nationall assemblie, the only proper and competent jurisdiction;

tion; and after determination, receiving and standing for the Acts of the Assemblie. The question then is, whether in this case, matters thus standing betwixt the King and this Kingdome, defensive warre be lawfull? or, whether the people ought to defend themselves against extreame violence and oppression, bringing utter ruine and desolation upon the Kirk and Kingdome, upon themselves and their posteritie? That it is lawfull for us to take up Armes for our defence against such unjust violence, it is manifest by these reasons following.

Anticovenanter.

1. Many Tautologies are here used in stating the Controversie, and you remove that which is the question, and makes that the question, which I am perswaded, you know to be not the question. 2. You multiply words to affect the ignorant, the question is not say you whether we ought to honour, obey or feare the King, or whether we ought to give Caesar that which is Caesars. Know you not that the last question comprehends all these? is not honour, feare, and obedience, Caesars due? 3. You are very charitable, that you say, whatever be our judgement and practice, yet we affirme in word, that absolute obedience in evill is not to be given to wicked men. 4. You make many differences about defensive armes to no effect. The first difference, betweene the King resident in the Kingdome, hearing impartially the complaint of both parties, &c. I pray you tell me, if the King were here resident, and did impartially heare you, and gave sentence against you, would you not then resist? Would you not even then be judges in your owne cause, and take up defensive armes? Whether the King be at home with you, or abroad, he shall still be one partiall and unequal judge, so long as he goeth not with you. Your second difference is of the like stufte, Between the King proceeding by Lawes, and the King coming furiously against his Subjects. His Majestie was still well pleased, and so remaineth, to proceed according to the Laws: but you will not stand to his judgement, but must be judges in your owne cause: and now if his

his Majestie, after so long contempt of him, and his Lawes, bee forced to draw the sword of Iustice, you cry out, hee commeth furiously against you. Your third difference is of the same nature, *Betweene a King who is a stranger to religion, and a King who is of the same with us.* What make you the difference herein? Will you not resist a stranger to religion, if he invade you by armes? The stranger to religion, by the Law of God, and his calling, is bound to defend the Religion within his Dominions, as well as our King; onely this, our King is more obliged by his generall calling of Christianitie, and by his owne fact and deed: and blessed be God, he will ever do it. Your fourth difference is of no purpose also. *Betweene a private man, and the whole bodie of a Kingdome for the most part, &c.* Tell me then, doe you grant, that one private man ought not to defend himselfe against the Supreme Magistrate by armes? albeit, it bee true that he may not, and you doe here deny it; yet you must be forced to acknowledge the lawfulness of it: for afterward, your reason shall make it good, that you maintain the lawfulness of a private mans taking up of armes, against the Lords anointed.

You doe no small injurie to our Nation; to affirme that the whole bodie of the Kingdome, except a few, &c. 1. For it's notorious, that the whole body of the Kingdome, for the most part, did never dreame of such a thing, as to take up armes against the Lords anointed, but were most deceitfully perswaded, that their covenant did not carry them to such rebellion; but only to *serve God, and their King.* And now many of them are exclaiming, that they are deceived, and must be perjured, if they take armes against their King. And how many are groaning under this, and would gladly bee freed? and yet dare not for your terrours and affrightments. 2. They are many who have subscribed the *Kings Covenant*, who will be loath to be in that Categorie with you: For I hope they know, that, beside the sinne of *Rebellion*, they will also incurre *Perjurie*, if they runne with you in your evil way. For they are obliged by their bond, to take up defen-

five armes in defence of the *King, Religion and Lawes*; and that only when by *Authoritie* they are commanded so to do. But your *covenant* obliges you to take up armes against his Majestie, even though he forbid you; if by *common consent* you think it should be done.

Your fifth difference is of the same nature too. *Betweene a people holding fast their alleagiance, &c.* If you be such as you call your selves, his Majestie hath no quarrell against you, but herein yet you must be judges in your owne cause, and the King must stand to your sentence. *Saul* was righteous in his owne conceit, and did obey the Commandement of God, but the *blesting of the sheepe*, and the *lowing of the oxen* belied him. Your daily practises beare witnessse, whether you be such men as you call your selves.

3 You say that ye have *suspended your judgement and practise about things controverted, till they be determined by a lawfull assembly.* Answer 1. You did not suspend your judgement and practise, but by your covenant have abjured these things controverted, as *heads of poperie*; as the learned Doctors of *Aberdeen* most clearly have shoven, which yee were never hitherto able to answer: and if this bee to suspend your judgement, you are worse than the wife of *Bodwell*, who first spake, and then advised; you have first sworne to the one part of the controversie, and then take it to consultation. 2. If we will grant you that ye have only suspended your judgements and practise, &c. consider how absurd you are herein: first, ye with an implicite faith sweare to believe and practise what shall bee determined in a lawfull assembly, though ye know not, whether it shall approve or condemne those things. 2. You fall head-long in another point of *Poperie*, in making the generall assemblie an infallible Iudge, at whose determination ye sweare to stand, in judgement and practice: for if yee did acknowledge that the assembly might erre, it had beene great folly in you to sweare to stand to the determination of one, who is not of infallible judgement. 3. I demand of you who are the strict *Non-conformists*. What if the assembly had determined contrary

trary to your expectation, and declare that those things controverted were not *heads of Popery*, would ye have condescended to them? and if the assemblie had not been made up of *conjured persons*, but of free *Ministers*, it had beene so concluded.

Your last two differences may be joyned in one, you professe your selves to be zealous in religion, and that the Kings Majestie is urging the swearing to the true religion of his Subjects, &c. Who then is to hurt our religion? who is coming by armes to destroy it? if his Majestie be for you, who is against you? You have the King a *Patterne and Patron of Piety*, and why did you protest against the covenant, because hee commanded it? But all this tends to no other sense then to brand so worthy a King with perjurie and dissimulation.

You have therefore most wickedly stated the question, especially since his Majestie by many published Proclamations hath often assured you, that he is so far from thinking of any innovation of religion, that he is resolved constantly to maintaine the same, as it is established by law in this Kingdome of *Scotland*, and hath beene so ready to give all full satisfaction, that he hath in a manner granted all that was petitioned for of his Majestie: reade his Majesties Proclamation and Declaration, dated the 27. of Febr. where ye shall finde the state of the question rightly set downe, and clearly see, that he is so farre from intending the ruine and subversion of this his Kingdome, that he takes God, and the world to witnesse, that he is at last forced to take armes, and that for his owne right, and our good, to reclaime us from our daring and encreasing insolencies, and for the re-establishing of his royall authority amongst us againe. And therefore the question is now, *Whether he be our King or not?* Yea, the question must be now, not, *Whether you may take defensive armes against the King.* But, *Whether or no the Kings Majestie may take defensive armes against a disloyall and rebellious people:* for doe not you invade his loyall subjects, besieging his cities by armies of men, because they remaine obedient

dient and loyall to their King : have not you by force and fraud taken his Castles, led captive his captaines, and other subjects, and laid hold upon all whom ye know loyall subjects, to ward them, and compell them to runne your crooked course ? you spare not the Lords owne Day, in time of Gods service, in the house dedicated to his worship, to take his Majesties servants and keepe them in ward, and dispoone upon the Kings forts and castles, as you thinke good ; putting in and putting out whom you please : drinking and carouzing in his Castles, *quasi jam parat victoria*. I, you have triumphed, leading the Kings Crowne captive, with Tuck of Drumme, in great solemnitie through the street of your *Citie of Confusion* : and afterward have not onely appointed your office-men of warre for resisting of authoritie, but also (as I am credibly informed) have erected a new government of 26. Governours of Nobles, Barons, and Burgessees yearly changeable, for the government of the Kingdome.

As for his *Supremacie* then, no wonder that it be gon, for in your last pretended generall assembly, you are not far from that which *Optatus* sayes of the *Donatists*, *Ille solito furore accensus, dicit, Quid imperatori cum ecclesia?* he being kindled with his wonted furie, sayes, *What hath the Emperour to doe with the Church?* In your protestations you give him no more a-doe, but to be present among you, that as an inferior officer he may attend you, and see that no tumult or outward disorders be among you, who are the supreme Iudges in causes Ecclesiasticall. You will admit of no appellation from you to the King, but have deprived them that thus appealed whilst even the *Iewes* in an Ecclesiasticall matter, admitted *Pauls* lawfull appeal to a Pagan Emperour : and whereas generall assemblies should ever carrie *libertatem iudicandi, non necessitatem credendi*, as *Augustine* saies ; and he acts thereof are onely *Canons, Directions, and Rules*, without any power to be lawes, till they be confirmed, ratified, and allowed by the *Supreme Magistrate, Qui servit Christo, Leges ferendo pro Christo*, who serve Christ, making Lawes for

Contra Parm.
lib. 3.

Acts 25. 11.

August. contra
Faust.

for Christ, as *Augustin* saies, yet you make them to be lawes of *coactive* power, by vertue wherof, ye depose and excommunicate whom you please, summon before your *Committees*, whom and when you please; and because they did not appeare before your *Committee*, though forbidden by his Majesties Proclamation, they have suspended them from their Ministeriall function. Thus Attributing to their Assembly not only *Directive*, but also *Coactive* power, not only without, but also against supreme Authority. It remaines then that ye conclude with *Emanuel Sa* in his Aphorisme, *Clerici rebellio in regem, non est crimen laesa Majestatis*, The rebellion of Church-men against the King is no treason, *quia non sunt subditi regis*, because they are not subject to the King in Church matters. And that ye rob him of his *Supremacy* in matters civill, it will be cleare in the dispute following: And therefore, notwithstanding of all your specious words that ye intend no change of Governement, *scelera reclamant*, and your protestations are *contrarie factis*.

But if you will perswade the people on the contrary, that his Majesty intends the ruine of Church and policy, you must not thinke it enough to say it so boldly, but to make it good, or els how can ye escape the wrath of God? Who dare thus affirme of your King in Word, and *Writ*, in *Pulpit*, and *elf-where*; against whom you ought not to thinke evil in your bed-chamber. And how can you escape the wrath of a King, which is as the Messenger of death, and as the roaring of a Lion? who so provoketh him to anger, sinneth against his owne Soule. Prov. 16. 14.
& 10. 2.

But though it were so, that his Majesty, who is the most religious King in Christendome, were an enemy to religion, and were by armes seeking that which you affirme he doth, can you shew any reason, why ye ought not to be subject unto him? Obedience is not to be given, but subjection must never be denied. I come then to your reasons.

But how can we be subject to him, who is an enemy to religion, and who is seeking the ruine of the Church? *Answer*. We cannot be subject to him, who is an enemy to religion, and who is seeking the ruine of the Church. *Covenant*.

Covenanter.

Argument.

1. The first is taken from the unreasonable and absurdity of such Court Parasites, as for their own base ends maintain the absolute Sovereignty, and unlimited authority of Princes, to the great hurt both of Prince and people, by loosing all the bonds of civill societies, while the Prince, against the strongest bands of oathes and lawes, may do what he please, to the ruine of Religion, the Kirk and Kingdom, the Lawes and liberties of some, or of all the Subjects, and the people shall do nothing, but either fly, which is impossible, or suffer themselves to be massacred and cut off.

Anticovenanter.

Efter 7.5.

You begin with unreasonable and absurdities, and so may you end: for all is absurd, all is unreasonable which you say. If any would have proponed this question before this uprore came amongst us, in *Ahasuerus* words, *Who is he? and where is he that durst presume in his heart to say so?* Surely we would never have dreamed, that such a *Cockatrice* could be bred in the brest of a Protestant: which doctrine is abominable even to many of the Jesuites. I say of these arguments as *Augustin* did of the *Donatists*, *In lucem traxisse, est vicisse*, To bring them to the light, is to overcome them. One *Cherilus* a Poet wrot a book of Poësie, wherof all the verses were faulty, except seven; for the which he received seven peeces of Gold; and for every evill verse, which were many, he received one stripe. If your arguments were thus tryed and examined, for every argument ye would receive a stripe; and as the fault exceeds, so should the punishment: but I wish you may not receive according to your demerits. If your reasons were set down in Syllogismes their weakness would appeare; but we must answer as ye set them downe: First I deny that the Kings power is absolute and unlimited in respect of God, who hath set such Marches to him

him that he ought not to transgresse: but in respect of men, the Kings power mu't be absolute and unlimited, so that their subjects may not resist them, but be subject unto them, according to the Scripture. Let every soule be subject unto the higher powers: and he that resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God. And that of Salomon, Eccles. 8. Where the word of a King is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? To this purpose, Ambrose in Enaraction, in Psal. 51. saies on these words, *Tibi soli peccavi. Utique rex erat, nullis ipse legibus tenebatur, quia liberi sunt reges à vinculis delictorum, neque enim ullis ad poenam vocantur legibus, nisi imperij potestate*—sed quamvis tutus, devotione tamen & fide erat Deo subditus, & legi ejus subiectum se esse cognoscens, peccatum suum negare non poterat, That is, David said, That he had sinned against God, because he was a King, and not bound to any law, because Kings are free from the bonds of Crime, &c.. So saies Arnobius, Cassiodorus, Beda, Glossa ordinar: Didimus, Cyrillus, Nicetas in aurea catena: besides all sound modern Protestant Divines. So saies Chrysostome also in Psal. 118. O Eton. 17. *Rex etsi leges in potestate habet ut impune delinquat, Deo tamen subditus est.* Albeit the King have the Law so in his power, that he may sin without controlement, yet he is subject to God: & sufficic illi in poenam quod Deum expectet ultorem. I hope they will not call these Authors Court Parasites.

Again, if their power were not absolute, there would be some other power above them, which is absurd, that the supreme power under God, can have any supreme power above it, but only God. *Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem,* saies Optatus lib. 3. contra Parmenian. - And therefore, in Synodo Regiaticana under Lothorinus the Emperour, cap. 16. It's said, *Imperatores summi ac principes minime nunc judicantur, sed in futuro judicio à Deo.* I conclude this point than with that grave saying of Twa Carnotensis Episcopus, Epist. 171. *Si reges aliquando potestate sibi concessa abutantur, non sunt à nobis graviter exasperandi, sed ubi sacerdotum admonitionibus non acquie-*

runt, divino sunt iudicio reservandi, ubi tanto districtius sunt puniendi, quanto minus fuerint divinis admonitionibus obnoxii. What then is the Unreasonableness of this absolute authority in respect of men? Great hurt, say you, both to Prince and people.

Ans. I. It's no question, but great hurt may fall out both to Prince and people, while the Prince presuming upon his authority, at useth the same, and makes himself liable to the wrath of God. But much more hurt would follow upon the other hand, if the Princes power were subject to the inferior subjects; that would breed great confusion, and turn all upside down, to make the Supreme under his Inferiours: *verso hoc ordine, publicae tranquillitatis nervum incidi, totamq; humanae societatis compaginem laxari, ac disturbari necesse est, saies Tilen.* When ever the subjects pleased they would be raising commotions and seditions, *Corah, Dathan and Abiram* would say, *You take too much upon you, Moses.* *Absalom* would strive to steal the hearts of the people away from the King. The University of *Paris* (though *Papists*) in *Censura lata die 4. Iunii 1610.* is of this same judgement, calling it *Seditiosum, impium, ac haeticum, quocunq; quafito colore à quocunq; subdito, vassallo, aut extraneo, sacris Regum ac Principum personis vim habere:* A seditious, wicked and hereticall thing, that violence should be offered to the sacred persons of Kings and Princes, upon whatsoever pretexts or colour, by whosoever, vassall, or forrainer. They say further, that it is a seditious doctrine, *Rogni optimates & procures ad fœdissimam desertionem, populum ad generalem defectionem atq; seditionem, specioso quidem, sed fucato Religionis Catholicae retinenda atq; conservanda praetextu, hortans, excitans, impellans.* A doctrine exhorting, stirring up, and thrusting forward the great men and Nobles of the Land to a most filthy desertion, the people to a generall defection and sedition, under a glorions indeed (but yet fained) pretext, of retaining and conserving the Catholick religion. And therefore, I conclude with *M. Geor. Froger in dicta Censura. Nè subjecti domino nostro regi, abripi se sinant affrica*
postin

Numb. 16.3.

pestilentis istius de Elvina venio. Let not the Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King, suffer themselves to be violently carried away with the Affrick wind of this pestilent doctrine. And finally, if there were such power in the people above the Prince, the supreme Majesty would be rather in the people, than in the Prince.

But you say, if we resist not, *Church and state will go to ruine.* An. 1. There is no danger to Church or Kingdome from his Majesty, who is only to put away disorders, and to restore the Church to her liberty. 2. Though there were such dangers threatned, yet unlawfull means (such as is the resisting superiour powers) for good ends, ought not to be used, suffering is *commanded* and *commended* unto us in Scripture, resisting is *forbidden*. By resisting, Tyrants are more *enraged*, by patient suffering, they are *mitigated*; resisting brings *ruine* to a Church, suffering causeth it to *flourish*; the blood of the Saints is the *seed* of the Church: and it's observed by the learned, that so long as the Churches in the primitive times used *sua arma*, their own weapons, *prayers* and *teares* against the persecuters, they *flourished*: but when they took *aliena arma*, strange armour, then they came to ruine; as it is this day under the dominion of the *Turkes* and *Infidels*. It's well said, that *Peccata populi sunt vires tyrannorum*, The sins of the people are the strength of tyrants: and therefore, when by patience, by teares, and supplications we seek God, God pardons our sins, and our sins being remooved, the strength of Tyrants is abated: and God can put a hook in their mouth, and draw them back from persecuting his Church. But when we resist, we augment our sins, and usurpe Gods place, to whom only it belongs to take order with wicked Kings, since they have none above them, but God.

Covenanter.

2. From that line and order of subordination, wherein the Argument Magistrate is placed under God the great Superiour, and the

Subjects are placed under God the Great, and under the Magistrate, the lesse Superiour. When the Magistrate commands contrary to God, and goeth out of his order and line, especially so farr as to invade by armes, if they obey not; the subjects keeping of their own line and order, and defending themselves, is not disobedience to the Magistrate, but obedience to God, who in this point, so long as the Magistrate runneth this course, becomes their immediate Superiour. And as under the Magistrate they ought to defend themselves from all violence without; so in this abuse of God and his ordinance, from all violence within; otherwise, they sin against God and their own soules. One inferiour officer ought to keep his own station in the army, even when the Captain goeth out of his line and order, and taketh part with the enemy; and in this case, is bound no lesse than before under his Coronell or Generall, to fight for himself, and for the safety of the whole army, against his own Captain. It were against sense and reason to say, that he must give his neck to the sword of the Capitaine, without regard of his Generall, the whole army, and his own life.

Anticovenanter:

This Argument is not so specious, as false; no man doubts, but when the Magistrate goeth out of his order, and by Armes commands, what God forbids; that, in that case, man is not tied to obedience. But to take up armes to resist, is the point in question, which you call *obedience to God*, and not *disobedience to the Magistrate*; but you beg the question, and cannot prove it, except from that, that God forbids to resist superiour Powers. 2. You deny the King, in this case to be your Superiour, so long as he commands contrary to Gods Commandement; and God only becommeth your immediate Superiour: before this time, I never heard so much seditious and treasonable doctrine. Did ever a Jesuit say so much? This justifieth their doctrine, for they hold, that, though Kings were never so wicked Tyrants, yet till the Pope declare them incapable of Authority, they remaine their lawfull Superiours: and if the false ground
of

of this doctrine were true, to wit, that the Pope is above Kings, their doctrine even so farr were good. But that *inferiours* should by their own *usurped authority* and insolency disclaime their *Superiours*, making God their only *immediate Superiour* is a most brutish doctrine, not worthy to be answered with words. As God sometimes sets up Kings to be nursing fathers to the Church, (as long may it be, we have one) so sometime he will raise wicked men to be a scourge to his Church: to both these, we ought *obedience* in all things lawfull; and *subjection*, when obedience is not lawfull, and never disclaime their authority. So the Christians under *Julian* the Apostate fought his battels, and obeyed him, when he commanded things lawfull: but when he commanded things unlawful they did not obey, & yet never resisted (though powerful to resist) but were ever in subjection to their temporal Lord, for their eternal Lords sake. So sayes *Augustin* in *Psal. 124*. *Quando volebat ut idola colerent, ut turificarent, praponebant illi Deum: quando autem dicebat, producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant, distinguebant Dominum aeternum a Domino temporali, tamen subditi erant propter Dominum aeternum, etiam Domino temporali*. That which you cannot prove by reason, you would proove by a similitude of a Captain and his Souldiers, but you know that 1. *Theologia symbolica non est argumentativa*, 2. The comparison is not alike, but hal-teth down-right: for the authority of the Captain is *limited* and *bounded* by his Prince or Generall, that he must not transgresse in the least point of his *Commission*; otherwise the souldiers are no more bound to follow him, then they know his Commission from their common Prince: As for example, the King of *France* sends his armies to fight against the *Spaniards*: Now, if the Captain of this army make defection from the King, and go to the Spanish army, then they become as *Spaniards*, enemies to their own King; now here sense it selfe leads the army to fight against their Captain, who are turned enemies; for they certainly know, that it was the Kings will to fight against the *Spaniards*, and
all

all that would take their part in that battell, and therefore they haue their Kings warrant to fight against their captaines, who now *ipso facto* ceaseth to be their captaine, and become enemies. But if the King did give these his Captains absolute and unlimited power over the armies, commanding the souldiers not to resist them by armes, whither they did right or wrong; whither they should turn to the enemy or not; in this case indeed as the souldiers ought not to turne away after them to the enemy against their Sovereigne, so they ought not to fight against them; but fly home to their Prince, whose will they know. Thus stands the case between God and the King his Deputy, God hath given him such authority, that all under him must be *subject* unto him without resistance; and though he should doe many things contrary to Gods Word, yet *ipso facto* he ceaseth not to be King, and we must not obey him in evil, but yet be *subject* unto him for Conscience sake.

The Covenanters seeing the weaknesse of this their argument and the strength of reason against it from the Apostles Direction, *Rom. 13.1.* they strive (but unhappily) to answer that objection, thus.

Covenanter.

It's objected *Rom. 13.1.* *Let every soule be subject unto the higher powers.* Answer. Tyranny and unjust violence is not the ordinance of God, and he that resisteth it, resists not the ordinance of God: they are rulers contrary to good workes, not to evil, they are not the Ministers of God for good, neither in this can we be subject unto them for conscience sake. The whole course of the Apostles argument runneth against the resistance of lawfull power, commanding things good and lawfull: we must either acknowledge Tyranny to be the ordinance of God, and for our good, or els exclude it from the Apostles argument, admitting the resistance thereof to be lawfull, at least by the shield for defence, if not by the sword for invasion.

Anticonvener.

In this you declare either much weaknesse, or else much malice; and I may say both. No man will affirme that Tyrannie and violence are Gods ordinance, but those to whom God hath given lawfull authority, may abuse it tyrannically; and they remaine the Ministers of God for thy good, *in tuum bonum* (saies Augustin) *licet sibi in malum*: for all things work together for the best to them that love God. For the Lord will raise up Kings sometimes (as *Isaiah* saies) to be *The rod of his anger and staffe of his indignation, to afflict* *Isai. 10. 5.* an hypocriticall people, to take the spoyle and the prey, and to tread them downe like the mire in the streets: Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart thinke so, saith the Lord, but it is in his heart to destroy nations, not a few. And when tyrants thinke thus to doe evill to us, yet it turneth to our good, to humble us under Gods hand, and cause us repent. This is all the fruit, to take away our iniquity, saith the Lord: *Isai. 17. 9.* and thus, *Tyranni sunt ministri Dei tibi in bonum, licet sibi in malum*: and to resist them is to fight with God, and pull the rod out of his hand. Your inference then is most childish, that either we must admit tyrannie to be Gods ordinance, or else we may resist it. For you see that he who hath a lawfull power from God, may abuse it tyrannically, and we must not resist Gods ordinance, lawfull authority; because such and such men exercise it tyrannically. Our superiors power is not Gods ordinance, because he is a good man that hath it, as *David* was: neither is the authority, not Gods ordinance, because he is an evill man that hath it, as *Saul* was: but the authority is Gods ordinance, because he who hath it, is the lawfull superior. He that was Emperour, when *Paul* writ this Epistle, was *Nero*, a tyrant. *Nero* (sayes learned *Moulins*) was a monster in nature, the shame of humane kinde, and the first Emperour that began to persecute the Church, nevertheless the Apostle, *Rom. 13.* speaking of that power which then was in being, saith, that it was ordained by
E God,

God, and that whosoever resisted the same, resisted the ordinance of God, &c. So sayes Aug. *De ciuit. Dei* lib. 5. cap. 21. Where he declares that the authority of wicked Emperours was from Gods ordinance, as well as of good Emperours, *Qui Mario, Caio, Casari, qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni, qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio suauissimis imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo: & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse & apostata Iuliano.* Did not Paul acknowledge the authority of Nero, when he did appeale to him, and that lawfully, I stand at Casars judgement seat, where I ought to be judged: Act. 25. 10. And Christ himselfe acknowledged the Authority of Pilate over him to be from above. Neither was it lawfull for Christs Disciples to resist, and by armes to defend their Master against such matchlesse cruelty and tyrannie.

And here by the way, I gather one argument against your course, which I pray you answer. It was not lawfull for Christs Disciples to defend Christ by armes against the tyranny of those who invaded him, and crucified him. Therefore, its not lawfull for us to take defensive armes against tyrants. Ye will answer, Christ suffered them not to resist, because it was his will to suffer. This is true indeed, he was most willing to suffer, but yet the reason wherefore he hindered Peter to defend him, is, because it was not lawfull for him to defend by armes, therefore he sayes, *Put up thy sword into his place, for he that takes the sword shall perish with the sword.* He that drawes the sword, must doe it by the authority of him that hath power.

Consider also the 12. Chap. of the Revelation, in the 7. ver. It's said, that the beast with the seven heads and ten hornes had power given him over all kinreds, tongues, and nations, to make war with the Saints. What shall the Saints doe then under their persecuters? May they not take up armes? No, for in the next words, the Spirit of God sets down the manner of the Saints defence *et non ui uiuunt*: First, tels what must not be done, and then what they must doe; first, they must not resist, and take their persecuters either captive,

or kill them, because they have not that power; therefore sayes the Text, *He that killeth in captivity, shall goe into captivity; he that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword*, then he sheweth that they must suffer. *Here is the patience and faith of the Saints*, sayes the Text. Patience is requisite to endure tribulation, and faith, to continue constant to the end. I pray you consider this my Brethren of the Ministry, and be not the kindlers of this unlawful war against not a Tyrant, but the most religious Prince in the world. *An euill man seeketh only rebellion; therefore a euell messenger shall be sent unto him*, sayes Salomon. Remember Bernard saying, *Epist. 134. Non est melius hortari ad pugnam.*

Prov. 17. 11.

Et tamen (scilicet deus) aduocat ecclesiam contra ab ecclesia infestationem Schismaticorum quorum; vult. Casarius propriam vindicare coronam ab usurpatore Siculo.

Finally, You make it questionable, whether you may invade Tyrants or not, at least by the shield of defence, if not by the sword; for invasion say you, not determining what may be done: and therefore, you shew too much choler to call it a diuells and diuillish calumnie of disnatur'd enemies, if they make the question about invasion of his Majesties Kingdomes. Your irresolution in this question, at least, if not, is resolved by your practice, who are the invaders, and our Gracious King must be the defender. The author of the *Dialogus of white doves*, goeth richly to work, affirming, if Kings hinder the bringing in of their Discipline, they are Tyrants, and being Tyrants, they may be deposed by their Subjects: and do not you maintaine that the Kings authority and true Religion are so firmly joyned together, that if he fall from his Religion, he falleth also from his authority, and so is no more your King, when you judge him contrary to Religion by common consent; neither are you more bound to him, then he is defende the true Religion, that is, which you think that true Religion.

3. 4. 5.

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FOXING.

Kings mince the Tyrants, and being Tyrants, they may be deposed by their Subjects: and do not you maintaine that the Kings authority and true Religion are so firmly joyned together, that if he fall from his Religion, he falleth also from his authority, and so is no more your King, whom you judge him contrary to Religion by common consent; neither are you more bound to him, then he defendeth the true Religion, that is, which you think that this Religion was. You say, *particulars* for the good of the people, but what gather ye hence, that the people may take up arms? that is a strange conclusion: Certainly if the Prince faile in the doing what God

Covenanter.

3. Argument.

From the end of magistracie, the Lord hath ordained Magistrates to be his ministers for the good of his people; whence have proceeded these principles of Politie, Princes are principally for the people and their defence, and not the people principally for them; the safety and good of the people is the supreme Law, magistracie is the inferiour and subordinate law, the people make the Magistrate, but the Magistrate maketh not the people; the people may be without the Magistrate, for the world was governed in another way, till that Cain building a Citie, made the godly first take this order for their defence, the Magistrate cannot be without the people; the body of the Magistrate is mortall, the body of the people immortal: and therefore, it were a direct overturning of all the foundation of politie and government to preferre subjection to the Prince, to the preservation of the Common-wealth, or to expose the publike, wherein every mans person, family and private estate is contained, to be a prey to the furie of the Prince, rather than by all our power to defend and preserve the Common-wealth.

Anticovenanter.

There is nothing here but most odious and contemptible words against the Authority of our supreme Magistrate, preferring the people by many degrees above the Prince. I say

De consider. lib.
3. cap. 4.

With Bernard, *Sicut quædam Deus conjungit, non sunt separandi*, How do you subject your companion and it will be as if you should separate the King and Subjects whom God hath conjoynd, and you compare the people whom are subjoynd to the Prince, farre above the Prince. But I come to examine the particulars. You say well, that God hath ordained Princes for the good of his people, but what gather ye hence, that therefore the people may take up armes? that is a strange consequence. Certainly, if the Prince faile in the doing what God

com-

commandeth, God his *Master* will take order with him; and not the people, whom you here make the Kings Master. The Scripture tells us, That he is the *Minister of God for thy good*, but with your leave, he must be your *Commander*, and not one of your creatures, your *Minister*. Rom. 13. 4.

2 You say *Princes are principally for the people, and not the people for the Prince.* *Ans.* You should say, for [people] subjects, if you doe not disdaine to be called Subjects. Now the King and Subjects are relative, and they are for other; the one to *Command and governe*, the other to be *subject and led*. Now what is all this for resisting of authority?

3 You say, *The good of the people is the supreme Law, &c.* This is the second time that you have ignorantly abused that saying, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, Goe to the learned Doctors of *Aberdeen*, and learne out of their *Duplicates* the meaning of it. It belongeth to the Magistrate, who is the onely *Law-giver*. The case may fall out, that for the good of his Subjects, he must not stand upon the ordinary Law, but let that stand for a Law, which in such exigence shall see me to him fittest for the safety of the people: But you odiously apply it to the people, who are destitute of authority, and can make no law. Let the people see what is most condu- cible for their owne safety, though it should be with the losse of the supreme Magistrate; let him perish rather then his Subjects: as who would say, rather then let the members of the body suffer such hazzard, cut off the Head.

4 Yesay the people makes the Magistrate, &c. You de- clare now what people you are (for ye will not call your selves Subjects) even great enemies to *Monarchs*. Is your doctrine soi Jesuiticall and rebellious, to thinke that the Kings authority is of humane institution by positive lawes, and not from God? if you say so, I reply with *Bernard*, *Si se sentiat, dissentiat ab eo qui dicit; non est potestas nisi a Deo.* We have maintained this doctrine too long against the ad- versary, to passe from it now upon your naked word with- out probation. It is the Lord that places Kings in their thrones, saies Job. By me Kings raigne, saies the Wisdome of God.

Job 56. 7.
Prov. 8. 15.

God. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperij potestatem, nisi Deo vero.* August. These cannot properly be called Kings, who have their power from the people, because *publike Government* is onely proper to God, who giveth it to whom he pleaseth. And seeing it is contrary to reason, that any can have *supreme power* over himselfe; it followeth that the people wanting a King cannot have the *supreme power* over it selfe; and therefore cannot bestow it upon any man to be their King, for none can give that to another which they have not themselves.

5. Ye say the people may be without the Magistrate. Answer. So have you made us this yeare and more; in stead of a King, we have had the Ephors of Sparta, and the Roman Tribunes over-ruling us, strange Lords rule over us to the great contempt of our own King. *Dominis parere superbis, cogimur.*

2. The world was not without a King till Cain's time: for Adam was King, his Empire was paternall, and therefore Monarchicall; for albeit, at first he did not actually exercise politicall Government before the people did multiply; yet *ex vi juris nature*, by the force of the law of nature, it was due to the first progenitor Adam, to be governour of his posterity, and thus *habituall*, he was King from his first creation: and therefore that assertion of the Monarchomachists is not alwaies true, *the King is not without a people, as the people are without a King.* I see, you think you may be well without our King, what remaineth then, but with the Bishops, let Kings go too, and lay a ground for Anabaptism.

6. You say the body of the Magistrate is mortall. I pray you what kind of people are you? *Qui genus unde domus?* Are you only the off-spring of God? I read in Scripture that God saies to Kings, *I have said ye are gods*, but to which of you is this name given? and if you will assume that to you, take the rest of the Text with you, *but ye shall die like men.* It's an old saying, *Rex nunquam morietur.* The King never dieth. But one generation goeth, and another cometh: Let it content you that the King and you are of one metall.

Psal. 82. 6, 7.

Now

Now in the end, having thus many waies preferred your selves to the King, you make this monstrous conclusion. It's a direct over-turning of all foundation of Policie, to preferre subjection to the Prince, to the preservation of the common-wealth. *Ans.* Here you separate that which God hath joyned together, and make these two opposite, which ever must go hand in hand together: for Subjection to the Prince, is the only way to preserve the Common-wealth: where Subjection is not, Gods ordinance is contemned, the foundation of policie over-turned, and the Common-wealth exposed to ruine, as is cleare in the answer to your first Argument.

Covenanter.

From the Covenant betwixt God and the people, for the people and the Magistrate are jointly bound in Covenant with God, for observing and preserving the Commandements of the first and second tables, as may be seen in the booke of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: As the fault of the people will not excuse the Magistrates negligence, so the fault of the King will not excuse the people, if they resist not his violence, pressing them against the Covenant of God, this argument is strongly pressed by sound and religious politicians. 4. Argument.

Anticovenanter.

You should declare, how King and people are both jointly bound: Will you have King and Subject of equall power, about the observation and preservation of the Tables? You are bound to keep the Commandements of God, as well as your King; but the King is bound to do more, to wit, to be carefull, that all his Subjects keep them, and to punish transgressours. I have read the whole Scripture of God, but I could never find this power given to Subjects. It's enough for them to keep the Tables themselves, but they have no authority to command others, much lesse doth it belong to them

them to resist the Magistrate. If the King presse the people to the breach of the Law, they must not obey; since God, his Superiour, commands the contrary; but yet they must not resist, since God, both their Superiours, forbids. You poorly beg here the question, affirming, that the people will sin if they resist not, but you will never prove it. You say, it is strongly pressed by sound politicians, but you presse it most weakly and unsoundly, not nominating one sound Politician for you. For no Wiseman will confound the Princes authority with the people, and turne a *Monarchie* into a *Democracie*.

Covenanter.

5. Argument.

From the subordination of Powers appointed by God. The same law and order that appoints to obey the supreme Magistrate, rather than his Deputie, appoints us also to obey God, rather than man: and the same law and order that leadeth us to defend the supreme Magistrate against the invasion of his Deputie, commandeth us also to defend Gods right, and to preserve the peoples peace against the unjust invasion of the supreme Magistrate: who can be thought no lesse subordinate to God, then his Vicegerent is to him.

Anticovenanter.

This Argument is builded upon sand, you dreame, that whatsoever meanes may be used for preservation of the Prince against his Deputies, the same may be used for the preservation of Gods right, and the peoples peace. But you erre, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God. Both by Gods Law, and mans law, Subjects are bound to defend their Prince. But Gods Law commanda not to defend his right by *armes*: the weapons of our warfare are *spirituall*, and not *carnall*. *Patience, Faith*, with other graces, are our Armour, we must be subject for *conscience sake*, and not *sake Gods place* to repress our Superiours. If any inferiour judge
wrong

wrong me, I must not resist him, but appeale to his Superiour, and from him again, to his Superiour, even to the King the Supreme; and if he will be unjust, and wrong me, I must not resist, but commit my cause to God, to whom vengeance belongeth. It is a point of Atheisme, and distrusting of Gods providence, to think that God will not help against Tyrants; and therefore men will be their owne judges, and revenge themselves. But the Lord hath said, *For the oppression of the poore, and the fighting of the needy, now I will arise, and set him in safety, &c.* Then take Salomons counsell, Prov. 20.22 *Say not thou, I will recompense evill: but wait on the Lord, and he will save thee.* Suffer me then to attest you, my deare Countrey-men. What thinke you to doe, *O yee Covenanters*, for God and the King? You undertake armes, not for God, who desires nothing but peace: You publish Rebellion, He commands Obedience. You trouble the rest and quiet of a King, he willetth us to endure hardnesse, though at the hand of a Pagan. You doe it for God, whose name yee call upon, and deny his Power. You doe it for God, who detesteth your actions, and knowes your thoughts. And you doe it for that God, who will confound all those who breed confusion among his people. You undertake warre for Religion, against the Defender of Religion: You raise armies for Religion, and nothing hindereth it so much as warres: You fight for holinesse, and your weapons destroy the Church, authorize blasphemie, plant Atheisme, impiety, and despising of Devotion in all places. You march under pretence of Religion, and you spoyle the Clergie of Tithes, Stipend, burden the Kings Subjects with impositions, ransack the Kings houses. Pardon me, I pray you, to tell you, that this fortresse which you build, will be your overthrow; this fire you kindle, will burne you; these weapons ye forge, will be tempered in your own intrails; and that thereby you will neither leave of your selves, nor your Covenant ought, but a shamefull memory,

Psal. 12.3.

Covenanter.

6. Argument.

If a private man be bound by the Law of nature to defend himself *cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*, against the Prince or Iudge, as a private man invading him by violence, and not pursuing him judicially, and by order of law, and may repell violence with violence. If a chaste Matron may defend her owne body, that it be not defiled by the Adulterer, were his place never so great. If children may resist the violent invasion of their parents against themselves, their mother, or others of the family, notwithstanding the strict obligation betweene parents and children. If servants may hold the hands of their masters, seeking to kill them in their rage. If the Marriners and passengers may save themselves by resisting him who sits at the helm, and would drive the Ship against a rocke, or by hindering the Prince himselfe, not only by supplication of mouth, but by strength of hand, to mis governe the ship to their certaine Shipwracke, much more may the body defend it self against all invasion whatsoever.

Anticovenanter.

You are put to poore shifts, when for arguments you bring crooked comparisons, yet good enough for ignorants. As for your first supposition, the question is not, whether a private man may defend himself against his Superiour with *inculpatæ tutela*: But whether or not, defence by armes be *culpata* or *inculpatæ tutela*? His Majesty denieth you not lawfull defence by Law, but your taking up of armes to resist his Authority is damnable.

2. Tell me, when doth a Prince become a private man? as the Popes *infallibility* is left in his *Chaire*, so you make the Kings *authority* to reside in his *Throne*: When *Saul* was in the wildernesse persecuting *David* with great violence, was he then a private man? you will have it so; But I trust *David* better then you all, who would not defend him.

himselfe by armes, but fled from him, as from the *Lords Anointed*: who can touch the *Lords Anointed*, and be innocent? It is altogether against the Law of Nature, that *private men* should take armes against their *Superiors*; seeing it's against the Law of nature, that a *private man* should be judge in his own cause, as *Luther* learnedly disputes in the 5. book of *Stei-dens Commentaries*.

Your second supposition is as idle. It becommeth a chaste woman to defend her *Chastity*, even against the *King*; but how I pray you by taking up of *armes*? not at all, but by not yeelding her selfe into his *armes*: and though he being stronger than she, force her; yet she hath defended her *chastity*, and only the *King* is the adulterer. Thus in (*Augustins judgement*) *Lucretia*, that chaste Matron, lost not her *Chastity*, albeit *Tarquinus* the Emperour by force lay with her, only she drew no sword to resist his violence; but here was her lamentable fault, that the fact, sore against her will, being done, she took armes against her selfe, and killed her selfe.

Your third supposition is no better, for there is no Law that authorizeth Children to resist their Parents by armes. 2. Rules of prudence cannot be set down for every circumstance; therefore in such cases, prudence will find out lawfull means either to pacifie, or at least to escape by flight, the parents fury. 3. If the case were so that either the Parent must kill the child, or the child kill the Father, I think it becommeth the child, who hath his being of the Father, rather to suffer, than to destroy the fountain, whence he sprang. 4. Parents have not so great power over their children, as Kings over their Subjects, Kings have power of *life* and *death*, which Parents have not. And your fourth comparison is yet more weak: for the masters power over the servants, is lesse than Parents over their children.

Your last supposition is true in part, the *Mariners and Passengers* may resist the *Pilot*, for *Pilots* are not *Kings* over the rest in the ship: you do too basely esteem of Authority. But what if the *King* will drive the ship on the rock him-

self? *Answer* 1. By doing of this the King is no more seeking the ruine of the Marriners and Passengers, then his own destruction, and in this case they are bound to save their King from death, in such submissive and humble manner as it becommeth, and not by *armes*, with *swords, musquets, pikes* and *Cannons*, which are most offensive weapons. 2. If the King would be thus desperate, it cannot be but he is gone mad, and quite out of his wits, and so *interpretative*, they have a warrant to hinder him to undo all, which he will allow when he commeth to himself again. Well, al this may be done without taking of armes.

But then say ye, may not the Church defend it self from suffering shipwrack against a Tyrant, who is seeking that? *Answer*. It cannot be so done; the comparison is much unlike. You speak as if the one case were as obuius to the sense as the other. They must be *apparent* rocks, not *supposed* only. Both sense and reason tell that if the Prince be not hindered by the Mariners, he and all must perish. But the Church of Christ, which is builded on a Rock, against the which all Tyrants violence, no, nor the gates of hell cannot prevaile, is a gainer by suffering, and every drop of their blood begets new believers: and so *resisting*, being an unlawfull meanes, may bring ruine to the Church, but *suffering* not so. If the Jewes in the daies of *Ahasuerus* had been of this new Scottis humor, when an utter extirpation was intended by *Haman* both of themselves and their Religion, they would have taken armes; but their prayers and teares were their defence in their greatest extremity. This was the constant practice of the Primitive Church also, even when they were most able to defend themselves against their persecutors: to this purpose *Chrysost.* exposition on *Psal.* 147. saith well, that God compasseth his Church with the crosse, to suffer, not with wals for defence *Ecclesiam (inquit) munijt validius quam Ierusalem non vallibus et portis, sed cruce circumseptam. Circumnotatione propria voluntatis, cum dixit, Porta inferorum non prevalebant adversum eam. In principio itaq; reges et Imperatores, et populi, et civitates,*

virates, & demonum phalanges, & ipsa diaboli Tyrannia, & alia innumerabilia invaserunt Ecclesiam; illa tamen omnia fracta & dissoluta sunt, & interierunt, ipsa tamen crevit, & instantiam proventus est altitudinem, ut ipsos etiam caelos superaverit. For God hath guarded his Church more strongly then Jerusalem, not being environed with gates and barre, but with the crosse, and the denyall of her self, when he said *The gates of hell shall not prevaile against her.* Therefore in the beginning, Kings and Emperours, people and cities, troupes of Divels, yea and the very Tyranny of Satan, invaded the Church: yet all these things were undone and dissolved and perished; but the Church increased, in so much that she reached unto the heavens, and all this was by suffering; for as the Arke of Noah, the more the floods increased the nearer it was to Heaven, so the more the Church is tossed with the waves of affliction, the nearer it goeth to Heaven.

Covenanter.

7. From Examples in Scripture, 1. Sam. 14. 45. & 2. Chr. 26. 17. 2. Kings 11. 1. Sam. 23. where David hath his hinder men for his defence against the King himself, and would have kept Keilah against him, neither himself nor the Priest doubting of the lawfullness thereof, only suspecting the treachery of the Keillites. Examples of the reformed Kirks in Germany, the Low-countries, Smaden, and the Examples of our own Reformation.

Anticovenantor.

It's a token that you put small confidence in Scripture: because you have not begun with it; but left it in the end. For certainly there is nothing here to prove your tenet. All your testimonies are out of the Old Testament, but not one out of the New Testament. What if I would grant it lawful under the Law, and that your testimonies are good for your

Mat. 10. 23.

purpose? but can ye shew it lawfull under the Gospell, where suffering is only commanded? *When they persecute you in one city, fly to another: not go take the cities and castles of your persecuting Superiours, and defend your selves.* But as there is no help for you from the New Testament, so you shall have none from the Old Testament, as shall be cleare in answering your testimonies. In your first testimony, the people hindered *Saul* to kill *Jonathan*: but how did they it? Not by armes, but by *entreary with sound reasons*. Shall *Jonathan* die, say they, *who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel?* God forbid. But you will say they opposed themselves in contradictory termes, saying, *as the Lord liveth, there shall not one haire of his head fall to the ground, &c.* Ans. In the originall it is not so, but by way of interrogation, as the most famous Interpreters *Tremellius* and *Iunius* do translate it. *Ut vivit Iehova, an cadere debet ullus e capillis capitis eius?* as the LORD liveth should there fall any haire of his head to the ground? The people adjure *Saul*, and appeale his Conscience before the living God (say these learned Interpreters) *ut posthabit a juramenti ratione, juris habeat rationem*: as if they had said, is it reason that he should receive the least hurt from the people, who following the Lord hath wrought so great Salvation to the people? Then they defended *Jonathan* not by armes, but by sound reason; which kind of defence is most willingly granted by his Majesty to all that now cry for armes.

Your next testimony is no more worth. The people of *Israel* were put to no small strait; when there was no Smith in *Israel*, but were forced to go down to the *Philistines*, to sharpen their *shaxes*, their *axes*, and *mattocks*. This is also your case, you must here go to the enemies, and from the Papists borrow weapons to defend your cause, in the examples of *Azariah* and *Athaliah*: Whereby they maintain the Supremacy of the Pope over Kings, and you now use them to maintain the Power of the people over Kings. But let us consider them. The first is of *Azariah* the King, who contrary to Gods Commandement, went into the Temple of

of the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar. And Azariah the Priest went in after him, and withstood him, &c. *Answ.* 1. By this example, you must either maintaine, that the Subjects are above the Prince, giving them the Popes usurped authority; or if not, you must help to answer this your selves, & so loose the knot which your selves have knit. The Papists say, *That the High-Priest thrust the King out of the Temple, when he usurped the Priests office, ergo, the Pope is above Kings;* the reason of the inference is, because no Inferiour hath power to lay hands on a Superiour, and by coactive power, to compell them to doe their duty, or repell them. Now you say the same, *The High-Priest thrust the King out of the Temple, therefore it's lawfull for the people to resist Kings.* What reason can you give of this inference, except you acknowledge the peoples superiority above the Prince; and certainly, in your comparing the King and his Subject, you seem to hold it so. 2. The Priest thrust out the King not by taking armes, but with rebuke and admonition, as the Text is cleare, *Is per- taineth not to thee Uziah to burne incense, and bad him de- part out of the Sanctuary.* This became the Priest to doe. But what did the King? He was *indignabundus*, he was wroth, disdained their rebuke, and took the Censer in his hand to burn incense. What followed upon this? The Priests admonitions being contemned, then the Lord tooke order with him, to whom it onely belonged. *While the King was wroth with the Priest (sayes the Text) the leprosy rose up in his forehead, before the Priests:* then no man needed to bid him depart, for the Text sayes, *He himselfe hastened to goe out, because the Lord had smitten him.* It was not then violence from the priests, but the punishment from God, that thrust him out. But you will say, the Text sayes also, that the Priest thrust him out, so it doth, but it was by admonition and rebuke; for the Text sayes, *The Priests looked on him, and be- hold he was leprous, and they thrust him out from thence, yea, he himselfe hastened to goe out* He knew not that he was so, till the priests seeing it, told him, and without doubt, rebuked him sharply; telling him of the judgement of God upon him. Thus

2 Chron. 26.

Bellar. de Pont.
Rom. lib. 15.
cap. 6.

Thus doth *Iosephus* testifie, *Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Iud. cap. 11.* Whom *Cajetan* followeth, *Visa lepra, sacerdotes regem ad festum egredendum monent.* The leprosie being seen, the Priests admonish him to make haste to go out. So doth *Chrysostom*, and giveth the reason of it, saying; *The office of a Priest is only to reprove, and freely to admonish, not to move armes, nor to use bucklers, nor to shake a lance, neither to bend a bow, and shoot forth darts.* All then that can be drawne from this example is, 1. That when Kings break the Commandements of God by any scandalous fact, it's the Preachers duty to rebuke him. 2. That when Princes will not regard the admonitions of Gods Servants, they must be left to God, who sometimes will visibly punish them. I retort then your Argument, *Azariah* did not by armes defend Gods right, as you call it, *ergo*, you ought not to take up armes, though you had an *Uzziah* to deale with.

2 King. 11.

Your next example is of *Iehojada*, who commanded *Athaliah* to be slaine. The very bare reading of the History an-
you sufficiently. *Athaliah* was an usurper of the Crowne which by right belonged to *Ioash*, which was hid six yeeres from her cruelty. After *Iehojada* the High-Priest, *Ioash* his Uncle and Tutor with the Captaines and Hundreds, with the Levites and chiefe Fathers of Israel, had brought forth *Ioash*, and put on him the Crowne, and declared him King; then by authority of *Ioash* the King thus seated in his throne, *Iehojada* caused slay that bloody usurper of the Kingdom *Athaliah*. So this was done by the authority of the King. Now nothing can be gathered from this, but if any Subject for certaine yeeres have taken upon them Royall authority, if the righteous King doe recover his own authority, he may command the usurpers to be slaine. This point shall not be denied you.

Your last example from Scripture is also against you, concerning the men of *Keilah*. If you wil without prejudice judicially consider the place, you shall see that, if you will prove the lawfulnessse of your defence, it must be from *Dauids* flying from *Saul*. I have often scene both in the Fathers, and modern

The Recording of the Scripture

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 unlawfulness of resisting Princes, but never till now, for the
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 him. 2. That where David did hide himselfe, he found oft-
 times treacherous men to discover him, promising to de-
 liver him unto Saul. So the Ziphites ran to Saul, saying,
 Doeth not David hide himselfe with us in strong holds in the
 wood, in the hill of Hachilah? Now therefore, come downe, and
 our part shall bee to deliver him into the Kings hand. And
 thus being oft betrayed, he was forced to forsake the King-
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 men of Keilah, they were much obliged to David for deli-
 vering them from the Philistines; and therefore, the place
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1 Sam. 23, 12.

Thus doth *Iosephus* testifie, *Lib. I. de Antiquis. Ind. cap. II.* Whom *Cajetan* followeth. *Vis à lepra, sacerdotes regem ad festinè egredendum monent.* The leprosie being seen, the Priests admonish him to make haste to go out. So doth *Chrysostom*, and giveth the reason of it, saying; *The office of a Priest is only to reprove, and freely to admonish, not to move armes, nor to use bucklers, nor to shake a lance, neither to bend a bow, and shoot forth darts.* All then that can be drawne from this example is, 1. That when Kings break the Commandements of God by any scandalous fact, it's the Preachers duty to rebuke him. 2. That when Princes will not regard the admonitions of Gods Servants, they must be left to God, who sometimes will visibly punish them. I retort then your Argument, *Azariah* did not by armes defend Gods right, as you call it, *ergo*, you ought not to take up armes, though you had an *Uzziah* to deale with.

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1 Sam. 23, 12.

shut mee up? as is also expounded in the Margent of the Bible in that place. So the meaning is not as you most seditiously expound it, *Will the men of Keilah not defend mee*, but deliver me to *Saul*, who are resolved to keepe this walled Citie against him? But this is the meaning, *Will the men of Keilah not let mee goe away, but shut me up, close the gates, that I cannot escape by flying?* This lets us see, that *David* had a purpose to flie from *Saul*, which makes him so carefull to try, whether the men of *Keilah* would hinder him by shutting their gates, that finding them deceitfull, he might flie in time. And therefore it's without warrant, you say, that *David* with his six hundred men purposed to defend themselves in the citie against the King. If hee had purposed to keepe the towne, he would have beene well pleased, how close soever the gates had been shut: and would rather have enquired, Lord, will the men of *Keilah* open the gates, and let in the King, then will they shut the gates upon me?

2 Though your exposition were true, that *David* purposed to keepe the towne against the King, the question yet remaineth, Whether he ought to have done so, or not? *a factum, ad id non valet consequentia.*

3 It proveth not your conclusion. *David* was but one man, who tooke an army of six hundred men, to defend himselfe against the King, as you dreame. Therefore, when the King persecuteth a private man, he may gather an army and resist the King: which I hope you will not, at least, cannot sustaine: and yet you must sustaine this, or else passe from your Argument,

Finally, if any of you were in the case that *David* was in, to be the *Anointed of God*, and appointed by God to succeed *Saul*, it feares mee you would take more upon you then *David* did, for ye have done more already: and some of you are not ashamed to call the Nobility, *Ephori*, and that they put on the *Crowne* with the King in his Coronation; turning all to a sinistrous and seditious sense.

As for your examples from reformed Churches, since we live not by *Examples*, but by *Laws*, I will not stand upon them,

them as not knowing the Lawes and Government of for-
raigne Kingdomes. If they have Lawes for their resistance,
you produce these examples most impertinently. 2. From
facts to prove the Lawfulness of resisting is ridiculous.
3. None of these by resisting, gained so much as by suffering;
as experience too late doth shew.

Covenanter.

From Testimonies not onely of Popish Writers, but of the Di- 8. Argument
vines of the reformed Churches, even such as will bee strong
pleaders for Monarchie: Neither is Calvin against us, but for
us; From the testimonies of most judicious Lawyers and learned
men, who have written contra-Monarchomachos.

Anticovenanter.

I grant Iesuites (yet not all) are for your tenet, for herein
you agree, contrary to the Doctrine of al sound Divines, an-
cient and moderne. You name not any Protestant Divine,
but Calvin, who is flat against you; for this purpose, I re-
ferre you to learne it out of the Duplie of the most learned
Doctors of Aberdeen. You nominate no judicious Lawyers.
I know your Advocate Master Johnstone is for you, but the
question is too Deepe for his shallow brain.

Covenanter.

From the mutuell contract betweene the King and the peo- 9. Argument
ple, as may be seene in the Acts of Parliament, and Order of
Coronation.

Anticovenanter.

Ans. 1. To this, I give a Reall and Royall answer from the
most gracious and most learned King James of Blessed me-
mory, in his Booke intituled, *Ius Libera Monarchie*, pa. 193.

Nego ego tempore Coronationis inter regem & subditor pactum iniri, &c. I deny sayes he, that in the time of the Coronation, there is any such covenant betweene the King and his Subjects. But this is manifest, that at that time, or at the beginning of his raigne, *sponte sua*, of his owne accord, the King promiseth to discharge honestly and faithfully that charge, which God hath committed and entrusted him with.

2 Though it were granted that there were such a mutuall contract, yet his Majesty demonstrates most clearly, that it cannot helpe this cause. If the King, sayes hee, shall not keepe his part of the Covenant, who shall be judge between these parties? there is none who hath but attained to a small taste of the civill Law, who knoweth not, that the contract cannot be esteemed violated by the one partie: nor the other absolved of his part of the contract, before that it be made manifest by the cognition and Tryall of the ordinarie judge, which of the parties hath departed from the Contract. For this is the caution of every civill and *municipiall* Law; otherwise what could hinder but that every man, in his *owne cause* may be both Judge and partie, then the which, there can be nothing thought more absurd. Now in that contract between the King and his Subjects, without all controuersie onely God is Judge, to whom alone the King is bound to give account of his administration; because in that oath at the Kings inauguration, both the judgement and vengeance of his perfidious dealing is given onely to God. Therefore since God alone is the judge between the parties, and since the tryall and vengeance onely doth belong to him, it must necessarily follow, that God must first pronounce the sentence against the King, before the people can be thought free of their part of the Covenant, of obedience and *subjection*. And so there is no man so blind, but he may see how unjustly you make your selfe judge in your *owne cause*, and usurpe the place of God.

3. From this your mutuall contract, you must shew that his Majesty, not only obligeth himselfe to performe his Kingly office, but also giveth power to the people (when they judge that he failes in his part) to resist him by force of
armes

armes: or else, you are idle to alleadge such contract. And if you will produce this, I have no more to say, but that the King hath denuded himselfe of Royall authority, and devolved it into the peoples hands, he onely in name, and the people in effect, being King and supreme judge in their owne cause: and so the King must stand, *Ut magna naminis umbra*. But you would doe well, to produce such a contract out of the *Vtopia* of your owne braine.

Covenanter.

From *Acts of Parliament ratifying the three Estates Authority*, and from our *apocryphicall and cruell Historie*. 10. Argument

Anticovenanter.

1 There can be no Acts of Parliament, but those the King sets downe with advice of his Estates. 2 And can you shew any Act of Parliament for the lawfulness of resisting Princes, or can you shew that there is any Act of Parliament, giving authority to the Estates, to resist His Majesty to execute Justice? 4 Doe you attribute any authoritie to these, which ye cal the three Estates, without the King? You must know, that the King is the onely *Law-giver*, the Parliament is but his *extraordinarie Councell*, and the Estates thereof are his *extraordinarie Counsellours*; by whose advice hee enacts Lawes. Consider also, there was no Law in the Kingdome of Scotland before the Kings of it; for, before *Fergusius* his dayes, we were but like *Salustius Aborigenes*. *Genus hominum agreste, liberum atq; solutum, sine legibus, sine imperio*. But when the first King did conquer this Land, he and his Successours gave Lawes, divided the whole Land which was their owne; and distinguished the orders of men, and did establish a politicall government. This is clear by our Chronicles, and *Ex archæis regis, in quibus antiquum & primævum jus asseruatur, satis constat, Regem esse Dominum omnium bonorum directum, omnes subditos esse ejus vassal-*

los, qui latifundia sua, ipsi domino referant accepta, sui nempe obsequij & servitij praeiudicia. 4. If you attribute such incompatible power to these Estates, Why did not you by vertue thereof conclude this warre? You ought first to hold a Parliament, and then conclude warre. But pardon me, you have done so, Your three Tables is for Your three Estates, which hath ordained this warre. 5. Which are these three Estates now? Episcopacie is thrust from you, and over-ruling Elders are in their place, who are busie Bishops in another mans Diocese, and have been too busie in my parish; And shall they supply their place in Parliament? As for your Ecclesiasticall and civill Historie, if that be Knox, & Buchanans regni iur, expressly condemned by Act of Parliament, you may be ashamed to name them, and ought to have covered their nakednesse if you had respected them. You have published in print to the great disgrace of Knox, that he called kneeling at the Communion, *An Invention of the Divell*, and will you here make him a Doctor of Treason?

Covenanter.

1. Argument. From our Covenant lately sworne and subscribed, binding us to defend the Kings Majesties person, in defence of the true Religion, and to defend the true Religion against all persons whatsoever.

Anticovenanter

This is indeed *Ilias malorum*, your Covenant binds you to it, and to much more, even to whatsoever shall seem good to the most part of you by common consent, were it never so hainous. For that clause of your Covenant, wherein you are obliged to whatsoever shall seeme meete by common consent, is a great Ocean, a blanke, to be filled up with what you please, it seemeth good to you already for the keeping of the first Table, to break the second, in working the works of unrighteousnesse. As to withhold from Ministers their Stipend, as conducive for your ends, to threaten them with big

big words, to lay violent hands on them in the discharge of their calling in pulpit, ~~and which have~~ suffered, and which is more, to contemne and disobey *Supreme Authoritie*; yea, to take up armes against it: and if you by common consent, shall thinke meete to remove that blocke of authoritie out of your way, you are obliged to it by your Covenant: for certainly, this is very conduible to your ends. For if your *Caldernwood* be true, Kings are enemies to Religion, in his *Altare Damascenum*, he affirmeth, that *Natura infestum est omnibus regibus odium in Christum*. And so King James of Blessed memorie is called by him *Infestissimus ecclesie hostis*, And your Master-man *Carrwright* layeth down a ground for this overthrow of Kings, (as you may reade in the speech delivered at the Visitation of Downe and Conner, by the right reverend and most learned Bishop of Downe:) for he holdeth that the *Common-wealth* is in the Church, and not the Church in the *Common-wealth*: and therefore, as a wiseman will not frame his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house; so the Church is not to bee fitted to the *Common-wealth*, but the *Common-wealth* to the Church. This gear goeth right, for then, as there is a *paritie* in the Church (for so you will have it) there must be also a *paritie* in the State, and so, let Kings and Bishops go together. Thus King James knew full well the myserie of your Religion, whilst he made these convertible: no King, no Bishop, no Bishop, no King. And in your third argument, you tell that the people makes the Magistrate, and you may be without him, and by all appearance, you have (that I may use your owne words) rid your selves of him too, as an author and executioner of your woes; and have set up a new sort of Government of 26. Governours, yearly changeable, for managing the affaires of the Kingdome: consisting of Nobles, Barons and Burgeses, which government will trouble all our Politicians to give it a name, for it's neither a *Monarchie*, nor *Aristocracie*, nor *Democracie*, nor *Oligarchie*, &c. And you will offend, if we call it, *Anarchie*. When there was no King in Israel, every man did what seemed good in his sight.

Covenanter.

It's objected; that although upon the former reasons it cannot be denied, but it must be lawfull for subjects to defend themselves by armes, against the unjust invasion or oppression of the Magistrate; yet the matters presently debated betwixt the King and his people, are neither fundamentall in Religion, nor of that importance, that wee should enter into a bloudie warre, which bringeth with it so many certaine evils, and whereof the event is uncertain. *Wee answer*

1. No matter of Religion hath so great weight in the mindes of worldly men, that they will hazard their worldly Estates for any thing of that kind. Gallio careth for none of these things. Festus sayes, that the Jewes had certaine questions against Paul of their owne superstition, and of one Iesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmeth to be alive; if we receive him, the Romanes will come and destroy our place, and our Citie, hath been a prevailing *Maxime* in policy. 2 The greatest questions of Religion carrie sometimes a small shew, witnesse the words *ipocritæ* and *hypocritæ*, *ix* and *ix*, *diabolus* and *diabolus*. *Electinomen*, and *Electi participium*, which are small in appearance, but great in substance. 3 There is a great mistaking about fundamentall points of Religion, for if we call that fundamentall, the knowledge whereof is necessarie for salvation, a point may be fundamentall and necessarie to be knowne at one time, or in one Kirk, which at another time, or in another Kirk, is not thus necessarie: for although the foundation it selfe bee necessarie for the edification of everie soule, yet of things fundamentall, and necessary to salvation, wee must judge according to the different degrees, and, measure of Revelation. There is also a mistaking about the smallest matters of Religion, for obstinacie in resisting the light, and following darkenesse rather than the knowne light in the smallest matters, brings certaine condemnation. It was audaciously enacted by the Councell of Constance. Non obstante Christi institutione. The Kirk of Scotland, having from the certaine knowledge of the Unlawfulness of Episcopall

scopall government (were it of neuer so little moment) abjured it, diuerse times, and spued it out, we must not returne to our vomit. 4. Though the question were about the name of the Bishop to be retained in our Church, as the crafty without any warrant give it out; yet were it most impertinent: for the question must be taken either of the naked name, which no man is so silly to imagine, since we acknowledge it to be common to all the Ministers of the Gospell: or the question is about the place and office signified by the name, which is to be a Pastor of Pastors without a particular flocke, to haue the authority of Ordination and iurisdiction, to be a Lord of Session, Parliament, Councell Conuention and Exchequer, which either the Bishop must be, or else, as they say themselves, they cannot serue the Kings turne. He is willingly blinded, who sees not how materiall this is: for besides the sinne in the office it selfe, it bringeth with it the ruine of all religion, by denuding the citie of her Walls, and the Vineyard of her hedge. It is either ignorance or deception to speake of Caveats: for if the Office be of Diuine institution, Why should it be limited more then another office, or further then the Word of God doth require? It ought to bee rejected as a presumptuous usurpation upon the Kingdome of Christ, in appointing chiefe Office-bearers in his house without warrant from him, and an intollerable derogation to his full and perfect Wisdome, as if hee had not accomplished his House with Offices and Office-bearers, but left them to the determination of the Wisdome of men, which not onely in the Mysterie of Godlinesse, but in the matters of Ecclesiasticall Government, is enmitie against the Wisdome of God. We haue already had experience of Caveats, and now to hazard shipwrack the second time, by making such Pyrats againe to bee Pilots, were desperate madness. 5. But the Proclamation tells us, there are other matters of difference then Episcopacie. And lastly, the question is now, whether wee shall haue a free nationall Kirk, or any other Religion hereafter, but such as is commanded by armes, the onely mid and Argument now used for that which is intended? and whether we shall any longer enjoy our Civill Liberty? for if base slaves be advanced to Honour

Covenant

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whom Paul affirmeth to be alive; if we receive him, he
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wailing Maxime in policy. 2 The greatest question

gion carrie sometimes a small beam, witness the word
and diction, in and dia, diction and diction, Elect
and Electi participium, which are small in appear

but great in substance. 3 There is a great mistaking about fundamentall points of Religion, for if we call that fundamentall, the knowledge whereof is necessarie for salvation, a point may be fundamentall and necessarie to be knowne at one time, or in one Kirk, which at another time, or in another Kirk, is not thus necessarie; for although the foundation it selfe bee necessarie for the edification of everie soule, yet of things fundamentall, and necessary to salvation, we must judge according to the different degrees, and, measure of Revelation. There is also a mistaking about the smallest matters of Religion, for obstinacie in resisting the light, and following darkenesse rather than the knowne light in the smallest matters, brings certaine condemnation. It was audaciously enacted by the Councell of Constance. Non obstante Christi institutione. The Kirk of Scotland, having from the certaine knowledge of the Unlawfulness of Epi-

scop: 11

scop all government (were it of neuer so little moment) abjur-
red it, diuerse times, and spued it out, we must not retorne to
our vomit. 4. Though the question were about the name of
the Bishop to be retained in our Church, as the crafty without
any warrant give it out; yet were it most impertinent: for
the question must be taken either of the naked name, which no
man is so silly to imagine, since we acknowledge it to be common
to all the Ministers of the Gospell: or the question is about
the place and office signified by the name, which is to be a Pastor
of Pastors without a particular flocke, to haue the authoritie of
Ordination and iurisdiction, to be a Lord of Session, Parlia-
ment, Councell Conuention and Exchequer, which either the
Bishop must be, or else, as they say themselves, they cannot serue
the Kings turne. He is willingly blinded, who sees not how
materiall this is: for besides the sinne in the office it selfe, it
bringeth with it the ruine of all religion, by dennding the citie of
ber Walls, and the Vineyard of ber hedge. It is either igno-
rance or deception to speake of Caveats: for if the Office be of
Diuine institution, Why should it be limited more then another
office, or further then the Word of God doth require? It ought
to bee rejected as a presumptuous usurpation upon the King-
dome of Christ, in appointing chiefe Office-bearers in his house
without warrant from him, and an intollerable derogation to
his full and perfect Wisdome, as if hee had not accomplished his
House with Offices and Office-bearers, but left them to the
determination of the Wisdome of men, which not one'y in the
Mysterie of Godlinesse, but in the matters of Ecclesiasticall
Government, is enmitte against the Wisdome of God. We haue
already had experience of Caveats, and now to hazard ship-
wrack the second time, by making such Pyrats againe to bee Pi-
lots, were desperate madnesse. 5. But the Proclamation tells us,
there are other matters of difference then Episcopacie. And
lastly, the question is now, whether wee shall haue a free nationall
Kirk, or any other Religion hereafter, but such as is com-
mended by armes, the onely mid and Argument now used for
that which is intended? and whether we shall any longer enjoy
our Civil Liberty? for if base slaves be advanced to Honour
they

they will labour to please the corrupt humours of those who advance them; these creatures must serve their maker. Time was when the Pope was master, and then they served him. This time past, they have beene agents for Poperie, and as they have given lamentable experience, that they too well know the way to Rome; so may we looke no lesse, then that being re-advanced they shall carrie both Prince and people home againe to their old master, except wee stand fast by our Libertie, wee can looke for nothing but miserable and perpetuall slavery.

Anticovenanter.

These Objections are forged in your own brain, that you may the more easily answer them. There is no matter now debated of small importance: it's neither Episcopacy, nor the Service-Booke, but of the Monarchie, and Supreme Authoritie of his Maiesty; So, that upon your part there is no shadow of reason to take up armes, but to yeeld all due obedience as it becommeth; and so farre as it concerneth his Majesty, there is a necessity of armes, for the recoverie of his authoritie: And hee is not onely worldly minded, but reasonably minded to take up armes against Authoritie under colour of Religion, 2. You say, *the greatest matters of Religion carrie sometimes a small shew*. What is this to the purpose? I know no great question in Religion, but for the matter it selfe, it must carry still a great shew, and no small; you bring grammaticall and nominall similitudes of words, but for reall differences, they are very great. So *Au-
thoritas Regis*, and *authoritas gregis* carry great similitude in words, but the reall difference is as great as betweene Monarchie and Democracie. But you make all the question to be concerning Episcopacie, certainly herein the question is neither small in shew nor substance: for the question is, 1. Whether Episcopall Government be Antichristian, and your new Presbyteriall government that which Christ hath ordained in his Church, 2. Whether wee within the Church of Scotland are bound now to beleeye under the paine of damna-

damnation, your tenet concerning the government of the Church : and you hold that it is a point necessary to Salvation, now in our Church after such *degrees of light* and *Revelation*, to beleeve your sayings. 1 But that is a miserable light of yours, that none can see but your selves, your light is like *ignis fatuus*, which (as the learned say) flyeth from those that follow it, and followes those that flie from it. When we came to your Commissioners at *Glasgow*, Master *Retherfort*, and Master *Cant* to aske resolution of our doubts, your light fled from us, your answer was, *Ye must denie reason and learning, and helpe Christ a list*. But while you were in Pulpit, you made the people to beleeve that you could solve all doubts, as having commission from Christ so to do, let your *light* shine that we may see. Are all other Churches yet sitting in darknesse, not knowing rightly what is the Church Government, and you only a shining *Gospen* in the midst of *Egypt*? 2 If the knowledge of the unlawfulnessse of *Episcopacy*, and the lawfulnessse of your *Presbyteriall Government* be a point now so necessary, what is the cause that God never revealed, how his Church should be governed all the time by-past? for you must have this by a *revelation*, and yet it must not be a *divine revelation*, because it's contrary to Gods Word, *The Prophet that hath a dreame, let him tell a dreame, and he that hath my word, let him speake my word faithfully*. Hath not the Church of Christ, that hath this 15. or 16. hundred yeeres been governed by *Diocesian Bishops*, been lawfully governed? I am sure if God had ordained your Government, he would not suffer his Church from the beginning to this time to have been blindly led. But for this point I remit you to the learned Writers for *Episcopacie*. As for your malicious aspersions upon that *Apostolike Government*, because you speak at randome without reason, I leave you in your choller, to cry out against them, as enemies to all Religion; *Pirats*, and *misguiding Pilots*. And may it not content you what you have done? you have done worse than the *Pagan* mariners did with *Jonah*, to cast these your *Pilots* over board into the Sea, (and how shall

1er. 23. 29,

Acts 27.42.

you govern the Ship in this storme!) you have done worse than the Souldiers would have done with the Apostle Paul, who would kill him; for you have had such relation with Satan in this work, that you have given them as a sacrifice to Satan, as Satan would have given all the Kingdomes of the

Luke 16.28.

world unto Christ: but if you have really delivered them unto him, and he hath received them, there is a deepe gulfe wherein they are, that you need not fear their return to your

Acts 27.31.

Ship: neverthelesse I say unto you with Paul, *That except these abide in the ship, you cannot be saved.* And you should studie to know, what that is, to deliver over to Satan, 1. Cor. 5. 5.

But you say, *You have spued them out of the Church, and cannot receive them.* Ans. 1. The Sea hath not been calme, but a great storme hath wrought that excesse of loathing in your stomack. 2. The Church spued out all Popish errors, and amongst the rest, the Popish Hierarchie, and all Popish Bishops, that hung upon the Pope, their Head; but they did not condemne the lawfull and laudable calling of Episcopacy, which is more ancient than the Pope, as ancient as the Apostles. 3. If the Church hath spued out this lawfull calling (as I hope you will not make it good) she hath been in a great distemper, and you should have covered that fault, as Sem and Japhet did their fathers nakednesse, rather than Cham-like, to declare the same unto the world; it's our Scottish proverbe, They are scant of newes that tels, their Father was hanged.

Further, you say, *The question is now whether we shall have a free nationall Kirk, &c.* Ans. 1. Are you beginning now to state the question, when you have ended your dispute? 2. With such a question, How long will you wrong his Majesty, who is so farre from taking armes against the Religion we now have, to establish any other, that he will still defend our true Religion?

You speake of base Slaves, and cannot suffer that his Majesty should advance them. But you speake too basely, and whence are you with your Nobilitie, you master Ministers.

sters with a Pope in your heart? you despaire of your advancement with *Aerius*, and cannot endure others. Such as he who said, *Make me a Lord above my Lady*, and offered to leade a blinde Bishop, that after his death he might be preferred to his place. The heels once murmured, because they had not the place of the head; The Ass would climbe upon a Velvet Cushion to fawne upon his master, like a Spaniel. I pray you, whosoever you be, who envie the advancement of learned men, or any others, to consider, that the Kings subjects are as Counters in the Kings hand, whereof he makes one a 100. another a 1000. a third 10000. according to his pleasure. And must he be countable to your humor? Or must you be his director? You say, you must stand fast to your liberty to withstand the re-advancement of Bishops. Take Peters counsell, *Use not your liberty for a cloake of maliciousnesse, but as the Servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Feare God. Honour the King.* 1 Pe. 2.16, 17.

You began your reasons with *absurdity* and *unreasonablenesse*, and you conclude with these last words, *That you can looke for nothing but for miserable and perpetuall slavery.* So they deserve that hold such absurdities.

Pondus adest verbis, & vocem sua sequentur.

And you must perish in the *game saying* of Core, and receive *Jude 11.* to your selves condemnation, except ye repent, which I pray *Rom. 13.2.* God to grant you. And as heretofore, *You have fasted for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickednesse:* So now I *Esa. 58.4* exhort you in the name of God to fast and pray, that God would lighten your eyes in this Controversie, and turne your rebellion, into an humble submission to God and your King.

H. 3

To my Brethren of the Presbyterie
of DUNBARTAN.

Reverend Brethren,



Have received your Summons, the Tenor whereof is thus: I James Thome Officer in that part constitute, summon you M. Iohn Corbet, Minister of Bonyl, to compeer before the Presbyterie of Dunbartan the 16, day of April instant, to beare and see your selfe further censured for your former absence from the Presbyterie, and further contumacie and contempt to the Presbyterie, and other points both of unsoundnesse of opinions, and disobedience to the ordinance of the generall assemblie, as is evident by your manifest adhering to, and avowing of your declinator of the same, in your last presumptuous and sedicious letter, sent to the moderator and remanent Brethren of the said Presbyterie, written and subscribed with your hand of the date the 1. of April, with certification, if you continue in your contumacie, and compeer not, you shall be simpliciter deposed, from the function of the Ministerie, as a person altogether unworthy of the same.

But I pray you Brethren, have me excused, that I cannot compeer, since I have received your summons out of due time, and there is no passage between Scotland and Ireland, because of the great stormes from your coasts, which are so great, that I wished the wings of a dove to flye away, and be at rest; and by Gods good helpe, I have hastned my escape from the windie storme and tempest, and come to Ireland, wherein the shadow of the Lords wings, I shall make my refuge, untill these calamities be over-past, and may see the King in his beauty, and Ierusalem a quiet habitation: For this is the day of the Lords vengeance, and the yeare of recompences for the controversies of Zion. In the meane time, if this my Treatise can finde passage by any meanes, and come to your hands, it wil either iustifie me, or augment my fault; the one, if you be not prejudicated; but the other, if you be yet in your passions. My Epistle which I desired you to put on record *ad futuram rei memoriam*, as being able to make good what I have sayd, doth contain these opinions following, which you most un-

soundly

Psal. 55. 6, 8.

Psal. 57. 1.

Esa. 33. 17, 20.

Esa. 34. 8.

foundly call unsound, and my letter presumptuous and seditious. My 1. unsound opinion is, that I cal taking up of arms against the *Lords Anointed*, a doctrine of unrighteousness. My 2. unsound opinion is threefold, that I said, I take God to witnesse, that I cannot subscribe your covenant, except I would 1. sin against God, 2. contemne Authority, 3. and abjure my Christian Liberty. For the 1. I cannot but sin against God, if I keepe not the oath of God, and obey the commandment of my King, against whose Authoritie & Commandment this covenant is subscribed, 2 There must bee *contempt of Authority* (and this is too milde a word, let me call it by it's owne name, *Rebellion*) if I subscribe your covenant, for these 5 Reasons. 1 because all covenants are expressly discharged by Act of Parliament, without his Majesties privie consent be obtained thereto. 2 because this covenant is expressly forbid by his Majesties Proclamations. 3 because this your covenant containeth many unlawfull things, amongst which, is that unlawfull Band against the *Lords Anointed*. 4 Though your covenant were good and lawfull, yet, except you prove that it's absolutely necessary to be subscribed, how dare any subscribe it, being forbidden by authoritie without high contempt? 5. Since I have subscribed the Kings Covenant, I cannot subscribe yours without perjurie, as is clear in this treatise. And since you hindered your flocks to subscribe the Kings Covenant, saying, they would be perjured, if they did it; how can I subscribe both without perjurie? The third point, That by subscribing, I must abjure my Christian libertie, wherein I shall stand fast. I pray you, since your covenant doth abjure things indifferem (such as the Articles of *Pemb* are. &c.) as heads of Poperie, Doe I not thus far abjure my Christian liberty, if I subscribe? My last unsound opinion is of your assemblie. I was content & shall still remain, to passe from my protestation against your assemblie, these 3 grounds being proved. 1. That by acknowledging the authority of it, I be not obliged to beleeve the lawfulness of it's acts, for it calls *evill*, *good*; and *good*, *evill*. 2. That it be proved by the laws of the kingdom, that when
the

the King dischargeth the assembly to sit, it ought to refuse, and sit still. 3. That it be made good, that when controversie is between the King and the assembly, the assembly must be judge. In my presumptuous and seditious letter, I called these grounds absurd, and altogether derogatory to Royall authority, renting the Kings supremacy.

And I appeale the conscience of every one of you, whether these my opinions be unsound, and I for them judged unworthy of the Ministry; which if you do, your presbytery is the seat of violence, to the which I will not come neare, where when judgement should run downe as water, and righteousnessse as a mighty streame, you turn judgement into gall, and the fruit of righteousnessse, into Hemlock. Howbeit all reformed Churches in Europe are condemning your course, yet you say you are wise, and the Lam of God is with you; yet certainly, except ye amend and change your opinions and waies, truth is perished and cut off from your mouths. This is the cause, that from you the Prophets of Jerusalem; wickednesse hath gone over all the land; and the hand of euill doers is strengthened, that none doth returne from his wickednesse, but goe on with a revolting and rebellious heart: it is good to walke righteously, and speake uprightly, which is a hard thing to doe with you, when men must be over-rul'd with ignorant lay-Bishops, to whose humor all must preach, who remember not that, one day in proper persons we must give account to God, how we have taught our people to serve God and the King; against whom too many of you incessantly stir up the people, as against a Nene. I exhort you my brethren, that when you are Evening and Morning in private with God in your prayers, to remember and consider whether your course be good or euill, which you continue in; and if your conscience accuse you, I pray God ye may be as earnest to ungird that armour, as you have been in putting it on: And may shake off Pusillanimity, having your faces strong against their faces, who are seditious; and your foreheads strong against their foreheads; not fearing them nor being dismayd at their looks, though they be a rebellious house. Thus at last becomming valiant for the truth.

FINIS.

Amos 6. 3.

Amos 5. 24.

Amos 6. 12.

Ier. 8. 8.

Ier. 7. 28.

Ier. 23. 14. 5.

Isa. 33. 15.

Ezek. 3. 9.

Ier. 9. 3.

